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A GRAMMAR OF SANGO.
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THE GRAMMAR OF SANGO (THE LINGUA-FRANCA OF THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC) IS DESCRIBED IN THREE PARTS OF THIS TEXT. TWO ADDITIONAL PARTS ARE DEVOTED TO RELATED INFORMATION AND ILLUSTRATION. PART ONE, PHONOLOGY, IS CONCERNED WITH A DESCRIPTION AND EXEMPLIFICATION OF THE PHONEMES OF SANGO, A DISCUSSION OF THE VARIATIONS BETWEEN WORDS WHICH RESULT FROM DIFFERENT KINDS OF PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES, AND A DESCRIPTION OF THE INTONATIONAL FEATURES OF THE LANGUAGE. PART TWO, WORD CLASSES, DESCRIBES THE SIX CLASSES OF WORDS IN THE LANGUAGE (PRESENTED IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER)--ADJUNCTIVES, CONNECTIVES, NOUNS, PRONOUNS, SENTENCE PARTICLES, AND VERBS. PART THREE, CONSTRUCTION CLASSES, DESCRIBES VARIOUS TYPES OF UNITS WHICH CONSIST OF MORE THAN ONE WORD. FIRST THERE ARE PHRASES, SUBSTANTIVE AND VERB. THEN THERE ARE PRECLAUSAL AND SUBJECTIVAL CONSTRUCTIONS WHICH ARE NOT COORDINATED IN THE STRUCTURE WITH THE PRECEDING BUT ARE MORE PROPERLY FUNCTION CLASSES. FINALLY THERE ARE NONVERBAL AND VERBAL SENTENCES, FOLLOWED BY A CHAPTER ON QUESTIONS AND PROCESSES. PART FOUR, TEXTS, PRESENTS AN ANALYZED NORMATIVE TEXT AND SEVERAL ANALYZED BUT TRANSLATED READINGS. PART FIVE, LEXICONS, INCLUDES AS COMPLETE A LIST OF SANGO WORDS AS IS POSSIBLE AT THIS TIME PLUS THE LIST OF FRENCH WORDS WHICH OCCUR IN THIS GRAMMAR IN THE EXAMPLES AND IN THE READINGS. (JC)

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A GRAMMAR OF SANGO

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1963

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INTRODUCTION

The Sango language

Sango is the lingua-franca of the Central African Republic, one of the few indigenous lingua-francas in Africa. Arising out of the Ngbandi dialects at the upper Ubangi River, it has spread throughout the country and into neighboring areas. There is a growing awareness of and pride in Sango as a national language. Although Sango does not have official status, it is used by government, both orally and in writing, for the popular dissemination of communications of all kinds. Among government officials, even at high levels, Sango is used along with French. It is also used in commercial establishments below the level of administration, and is the only African language used on the government-owned radio in the Central African Republic. It has not been used in public education up to the present, but it serves as a tool for basic education (by the missions) and its use in general elementary and mass education in the future is still under discussion.

Sango is a second language for most speakers, but there is now a large group of children in the capital, Bangui, who are learning Sango as a first language with the tribal languages of their parents, and another large group who are learning only Sango as a first language, and who are not learning tribal languages at all (e.g. the texts N78, N79, N80, N81).

Research carried out in July 1962 by myself in the Central African Republic indicates that the entire population except for very old women in remote areas speaks Sango. This leads to a significant upward revision of my earlier impression that one-third of the population used the lingua-franca. When the sizeable clusters of Sango-speaking people in both Congo Republics, the Chad, and the Cameroun, and the 115,000 speakers of Ngbandi (estimated by Lekens) are added, the figure of one million speakers of Sango seems very conservative.

Until this year, literature on the language was scarce and rudimentary. A few phrase books and grammatical notes were published early in the century, but none described the structure of the language. A privately published set of lessons, based upon personal experience in learning the language, was produced in 1952, but is no longer available. This grammar, therefore, is the first attempt at a complete description of the Sango language. It stands also as one of the few descriptive grammars of a creolized language in the world.

Sango is a creolized language because it stands in somewhat the same relationship to vernacular Sango as Haitian Creole to French and Sierra Leone Kriol (<Criole) to English. This is to say that a language, here vernacular Sango, one of the dialects of the Ngbandi complex (which itself is a language of the Adamawa-Eastern group of Greenberg's Niger-Kordofanian), at one time came to be used as a lingua-franca. Because of this use it was very much simplified and to some extent transformed in structure. Not having the grammatical means of enriching itself, Sango (as creolized Sango will henceforth be called) has borrowed extensively from other languages. But these borrowings, being lexical, affect the grammar of the language very little indeed.

Because it is a creolized (by some people's definition even a pidginized) language, and because of its extensive assimilation of words from other languages, it is commonly held among many Europeans, and even by Centralafricans who have been influenced by their opinions, that there is no homogeneity in the language. Some will even announce that from one area to another and between one class of speakers and another, there is mutual unintelligibility. My own socio-linguistic research in 1962 and the carefully selected texts (see map) belie these opinions. One of the important conclusions drawn from this year-long linguistic study is that there is not infinite variety in Sango speech, but rather that there is a demonstrably unified language, the varieties of which are negligible and pretty well defined. For example, there seems to be some justification in distinguishing "country Sango," which is spoken by "country folk," from "town Sango," which is spoken by "town dwellers" or people who have traveled so extensively for longer or shorter periods of time that they have been well exposed to "town Sango." The "country folk" are that kind of people in any predominantly peasant, agrarian society which stands out by features of speech and behavior. They are also very conscious of their naivete in the large towns. There is however too little data to distinguish accurately between town and country Sango. The observations of the Centralafricans must be considered for what they are: pre-scientific and crude impressions of socio-linguistic behavior. The one instance of ridicule which I witnessed involved an adolescent Banda boy whose Sango appeared to be grammatically quite standard but whose pronunciation was marked by "Bandaisms:" i.e. using [č] instead of [t] before [i], using [ř] in many words instead of [l], and using the central unrounded vowel in many words where [o] and [a] normally occur.

The above is a conclusion drawn from linguistic facts corroborated by extra-linguistic events. Claims to non-intelligibility must be explained by non-linguistic factors. One explanation which so many have naively ignored is the almost universal recourse to "I don't know what they are saying" as a means of avoiding identification with another community. Many people have also failed to investigate what was really meant by "don't understand." Interrogation will invariably reveal that where mutual intelligibility is claimed what is meant is that certain words were not common to two communities. The purpose of this grammar, however, is not polemic. This is only a description of the Sango language.

Purpose of the grammar

The purpose of this grammar is to set forth the structure of the Sango language following a conservative application of current linguistic analytic procedures. We have therefore deliberately avoided using this grammar, whose primary use was envisaged by the U. S. government as a pedagogic one, as an excuse for theoretic experimentation. We have likewise tried to avoid an excessive use of esoteric linguistic terminology. Absent also from the grammar is non-redundancy, that feature of scientific grammars which is considered an elegant desideratum if not necessity: i.e. not describing a feature of grammar more than once or in more than one way. Our goal was to make the structure accessible and understandable with the least effort.

This is not, however, a pedagogic grammar. Although we had in mind the possible users of the grammar, we maintained as the most legitimate goal the description of "what made the Sango language work." A chapter especially designed for the teacher or learner of Sango was at one time considered (e.g. one on equivalent grammatical categories), but this was given up for lack of time. The index might perhaps serve as a useful but temporary substitute. With this grammar and the proposed dictionary and edited texts one should be fairly well equipped to work with this language. (A contract similar to the one which governed the preparation of this grammar is being negotiated with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The completion date is scheduled for September, 1964. No steps have yet been taken to see that the texts are edited and published, but we should hope that this valuable corpus of linguistic, ethnological, and historical data will not be lost to international scholars and the people of the Central African Republic.)

No grammar is complete, and this one is no exception. Further study on the language will undoubtedly reveal grammatical patterns which were not described in this grammar and will find ways of describing the same patterns in better ways. But an important step has been made. By presenting a large number of examples as well as translated texts we provide others with the means of checking our analyses. By having analysed a large body of texts we have been able to describe the most frequent, if not most important, grammatical patterns. What is equally significant is that this grammatical structure is valid for the whole Sango-speaking population.

Procedure in analysis

This grammar was prepared inductively. Rather than using an informant from whom utterances were elicited and then experimented with by further elicitation, we used the corpus which was selected from the tape-recorded texts and letters. In one sense an informant was not necessary, for both Mr. Taber and myself already know Sango. The more important reason for not using an informant was that we wanted this grammar to be as representative of the whole Sango-speaking area as possible. We wanted to be sure that we had enough data to catch variations which might be correlated with the first language of the speakers, with age, sex, and social evolution. Some differences emerge and these are always noted. The only part of the grammar which depends on the speech of a single informant is the lexicon. Comparing the phonetic forms of phonologically "key" words in the discourses of any one speaker or between speakers would have been so immense a task that we never undertook it. Therefore we have normalized the notation to follow in general the speech of Mr. Simon-Pierre Nambozouina who came to the United States from the Central African Republic to transcribe the texts (see below).

For an inductive study of Sango grammar we were very well prepared. The entire corpus consisted of about 300 tape-recorded texts, which represent about 40 hours of listening time, in addition to 250 letters written by Centralafricans either to myself or to Radio Centrafrique. The texts consist of extemporaneous material (except for a few radio texts which are either prepared or extemporaneous translations from the French) covering many different subjects, by people of both sexes, covering a wide range of ages, and representing the full gamut of ethnic groups in the Central African Republic. The texts include things like the following: interviews with people immediately after an automobile accident, petty crime cases being tried in court, interviews with patients in hospitals, interviews with people engaged in different kinds of activities, fables, etc. Transcribing these texts was an enormous job; twenty-two hours of work for one hour of recording seemed to be an average.

Selecting the right texts to use in the grammatical analysis was extremely difficult. Whereas we wanted a very wide sample of interesting material which was at the same time of superior quality technically, we also had to have material on hand all the time for different stages in the analysis. We could not wait until all the texts had been transcribed and translated before we made the selection. There was a deadline to meet. For this reason primarily the selection falls somewhere short of perfection.

Once the selection had been made, the text was processed by means of the "complete filing" system. Described briefly, it is the following: a text is divided into portions small enough to fit into several frames on as many stencils as are needed. Each frame is coded to identify the speaker, text, and location in the manuscript. E.g.

F4/1.23 3 m-a-is

This is Fable 4, page 1, line 23, frame 3 of this text; male, adult, Isungu speaker. Each stencil was then mimeographed to produce as many slips of paper as was estimated necessary. We needed as many slips for each frame as there were words and affixes. Once the slips were produced, the next step was to underline each word or affix, one unit per slip. In this way the entire corpus of over 36,000 slips was produced. It was only after slips were underlined and the linguistic units began to be filed that the real analysis was initiated.

The value of this type of filing system is threefold: (1) it is objective since one is not making a priori judgments as to what is important or not; it is complete so that one has a good impression of what the relative importance of different units in the language are; (3) it provides real examples, not ones made up by the analyst, for each grammatical point being discussed.

Such a system, of course, has its own limitations and difficulties. No one is more aware of these than we are. But for the work that needed to be done on Sango, this system fulfilled it excellently.

The choice of the examples was determined by their ability to best illustrate the grammatical point under discussion and by their amenability to translation. Those examples whose translation depended too much on the context were generally avoided. Otherwise, the selection of examples was random. It is therefore extremely interesting that every text in our corpus is represented in the examples (q.v. index). Moreover, the number of French words which occur in the examples is proof of the fact that we did not expurgate the French words or give undue preference to examples which were "pure" Sango. Each example (numbered consecutively in each numbered section of the outline) is coded to indicate its source in our complete corpus, only a small sample of which appears under READINGS: A, narratives and descriptions of ethnological interest; C, conversations; F, fables; I, interviews; L, letters; N, narratives and anecdotes; R, selections from radio programs. But in the absence of edited texts, no reference to page or line is made. The translations are generally free rather than literal and colloquial rather than formal, although exceptions can be found. The lexicon permits the reader to work out his own literal translations. Different translations of the same example can also be found. These have not been harmonized because they throw light on the problems of translating some Sango constructions. There are likewise differences in the ways constructions have been punctuated. In question is the use of comma, which marks a pause. Identical constructions sometimes occur with pause and sometimes without pause. Rather than make them uniform, we have preferred to record the differences in speech on this level. Similarly, because of the possible stylistic correlates with the various forms of the verb 'to be,' i.e. ɛkɛ and kɛ, and the negative marker pɛpɛ and apɛ, we have not normalized their transcription. Finally, examples are generally left without periods, except where really necessary, to avoid having to make decisions about where "sentences" ended.

French words in Sango

It has just been said that everything in any given text was filed. This means that French words were no exception. As one might expect in a country where French was the official language for about 75 years, there is a considerable amount of linguistic borrowing from that language. In our corpus about 473 known French words occurred. Some of these, naturally, occurred only once. Others occurred several times in different texts or several times in a single text. Some of them are words for which there are no equivalents in Sango (e.g. la république). Again, some of these words have been completely "naturalized," both in form and in meaning. E.g. pousser 'to push' has become púsu which can take the nominalizing suffix, i.e. púsúngó. These words would be used by at least some people who otherwise have no knowledge of French. Other words are used only by polylinguals. What to do with these words constituted a real problem. It was resolved in the following way: French words are never ruled out, either from the texts or from the examples, but their transcription has been normalized to follow the traditional French spelling--with the modification that most verbs end with é--and when a prefix or suffix occurs with such a word, it is hyphenated. E.g. a-poussé, phonetically [apúsu] 'he pushes.' This is admittedly an arbitrary normalization, but in view of the wide range of phonetic assimilation, we were satisfied with no other solution. There should be one consolation in the fact that the dictionary will give the variant pronunciations.

Acknowledgements

This grammar was made possible by a generous grant (No. OE-2-14-020) from the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare through its Bureau of Educational Assistance Programs, by the authority of Title VI, Section 602, Public Law 85-864 (otherwise known as the National Defense Education Act). Without the assistance and cooperation of many other people, however, the task of describing the Sango language would never have been realized.

The American Council of Learned Societies, by providing me with a travel grant to attend the International Colloquium on Multilingualism in Africa, held at Brazzaville in August 1962, made it possible for me to go to the Central African Republic to obtain taperecorded texts. The collection of texts would have been impossible, however, without the assistance of the Foreign Missionary Society of the Brethren Church (headquarters: Winona Lake, Indiana), which provided me with a vehicle and sufficient funds for gasoline to make several trips. Too many to mention are the individuals whose hospitality I benefited from. Meals and lodging were always provided without reservation. Special mention must be made, however, of Rev. and Mrs. J. P. Kliever whose home in Bangui was my headquarters for the six weeks I was in the C. A. R. Whenever they were called upon for help, Centralafrican officials also readily came to my assistance. Besides the Chefs de Sous-Préfecture whom I had occasion to see, I am happy to mention the Directeur du Centre d'Information Centrafrique who made it possible for me to obtain the valuable recordings of Sango used on Radio Centrafrique. It was because of the kindness also of the program director that I was able to get a few copies of letters which had been sent to them in the Sango language.

The administration of the Hartford Seminary Foundation is to be thanked for providing me with office space and equipment, for administering the funds, and for otherwise closely cooperating in every way for the successful termination of this project. A special expression of appreciation must also go to a group of ladies from the Bethel Baptist Church of Hartford who spent uncounted hours underlining words on 73,000 slips which were to be used in the grammatical analysis and in the dictionary project. Among them Mrs. Hilda Sand deserves to be singled out for her part in the work.

In spite of all of this help the project would never have been possible without the work done by my assistants Mr. Simon-Pierre Nambozouiana and Mr. Charles Taber. They did the groundwork for my analysis. Mr. Nambozouina's principal contribution was the transcription of the tape-recorded texts. He is a 40-year-old man of Gbɛya extraction, well-traveled in the Central African Republic, faithful, industrious, and a pleasant co-worker. Mr. Taber contributed in many ways. Not the least of them was the clerical work he did which, as any linguist knows, comprises a good part of a descriptive project. But Mr. Taber was more than a secretary. As a speaker of Sango from childhood and as a graduate student in linguistics he was able to bring to discussions many worthwhile suggestions. Some of the initial analysis was done by him, and a few contributions to the completed description are his entirely: i.e. the connectives na (5.32) and tí (5.61--5.63; 5.65), the post-posed sentence particle laá (8.13), the verb we (9.30), substantive phrases (chp. 10), verb phrases (chp. 11), and the readings (chp. 18). He is also responsible for the final appearance of such material as the lexicons (Part Five).

Outline

The grammar of Sango is described in three parts with two additional parts devoted to additional information and illustration. These five parts are further subdivided into twenty chapters to simplify presentation.

Part I, Phonology, is concerned with a description and exemplification of the phonemes of Sango, a discussion of the variations between words which result from different kinds of phonological changes, and a description of the intonational features of the language. Where previous works have adequately dealt with certain aspects of the phonology, this treatment is necessarily brief.

Part II, Word Classes, describes the six classes of words in the language (presented in alphabetical order): adjunctives, connectives, nouns, pronouns, sentence particles, and verbs. Included in this part are the three affixes which exist in the language: the pluralizer á- and the nominalizer -ngó (both under nouns) and the subject marker a- (under pronouns). Since morphology plays so little role in Sango, the criteria for the determination of word classes are principally syntactic: they are grouped according to their distribution with respect to each other and with respect to their function in various types of constructions. Interjections should be added as an additional class of words, but they are not specifically treated in this grammar.

Part III, Construction Classes, describes various types of units which consist of more than one word. First there are phrases, substantive and verb. (Exocentric phrases with connectives are described in the chapter on connectives.) Then there are pre-clausal and subjectival constructions which are not coordinate in the structure with the preceding but are more properly function classes. (They are described as "fillers" of certain "slots" in the sentence.) Finally there are non-verbal and verbal sentences, followed by a chapter on questions and processes.

Part IV, Texts, presents an analysed narrative text and several unanalysed but translated readings.

Part V, Lexicons, includes as complete a list of Sango words as is possible at this time plus the list of French words which occur in this grammar in the examples and in the readings.

Bibliography

A complete bibliography on Sango and closely related dialects is given in my article, Sango, an African lingua franca (Word 11.254-267). Since that time the following titles have appeared:

André Jacquot, Enquêtes socio-linguistiques concernant la langue sango (Bangui. Octobre-Décembre 1958), IEC/ORSTOM, 1959, 30 duplicated pages.

---- , Notes sur la situation du sango à Bangui, résultat d'un sondage. Africa 31.158-166 (1961).

---- , Esquisse phonologique du sango urbain (Bangui). Journal de la Société des Africanistes 30.173-191 (1961).

William J. Samarin, The vocabulary of Sango. Word 17.16-22 (1961).

---- , Tribalism, lingua-francas, and the emerging states (a paper addressed to the linguistics section of the African Studies Association, New York, October 1961).

William J. Samarin, An African lingua-franca (a paper prepared for the International Colloquium on Multilingualism in Africa, Brazzaville, August 1962).

Statistical description of the corpus

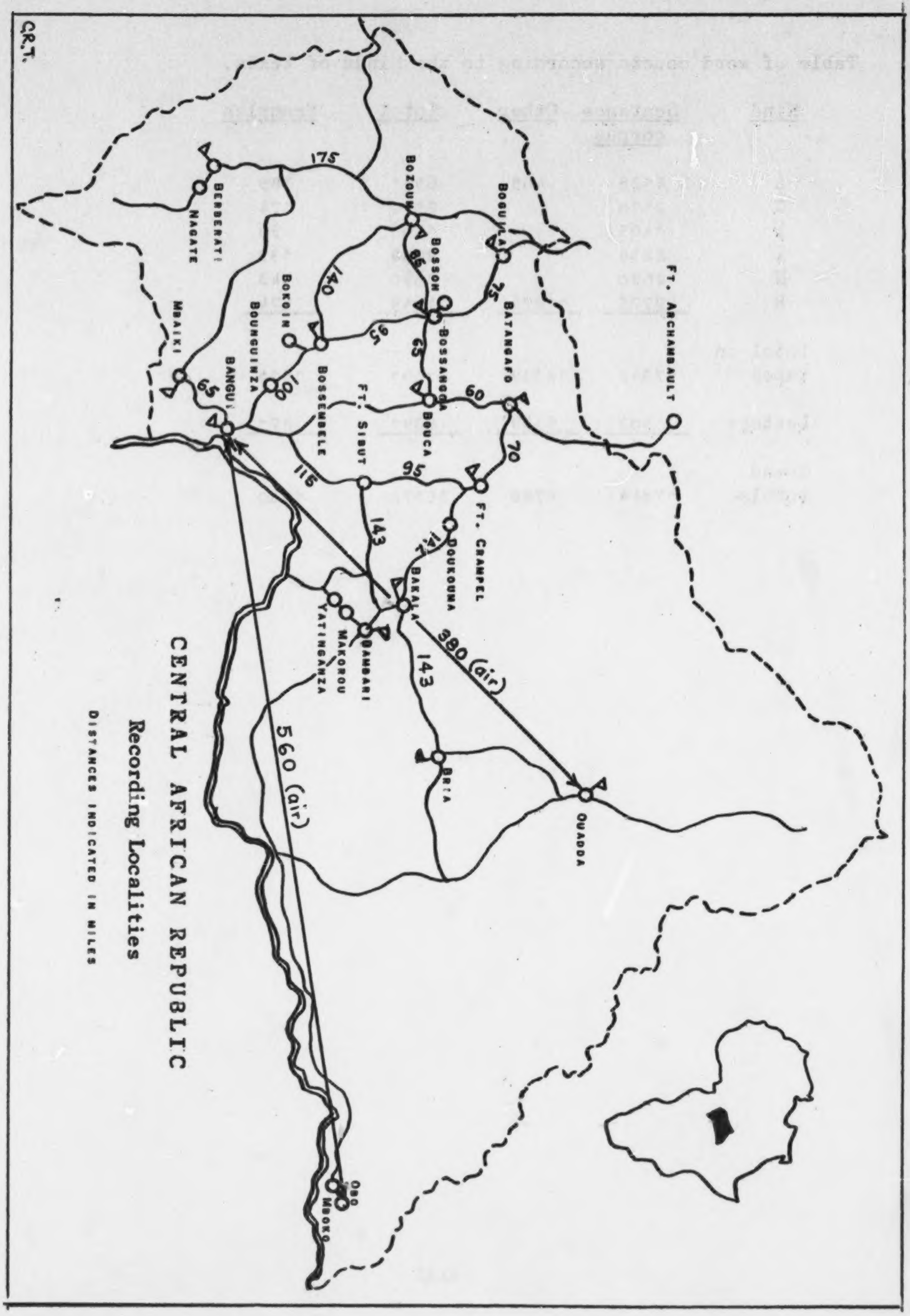
Table of data on informants. The figures refer to the total number of words attributable to each category of informant. Under "Age," y refers to children or adolescents, and a to adults. Under "Degree of Sophistication," 1 refers to the lowest degree, 2 to people who have had a minimum of education and/or travel and broadening employment, and 3 to those with a fairly high degree of education and/or travel and employment. Under "Religion," p refers to Protestants, c to Catholics, and o to other or unknown religion.

Language	Sex	Age	Degree of sophistication	Religion	Totals
Ali-Gbanu	m- 559 f- 1229	y- 0 a- 1788	1- 0 2- 1464 3- 324	p- 1370 c- 0 o- 418	1788
Banda	m- 388 f- 1297	y- 388 a- 1297	1- 0 2- 388 3- 1297	p- 1297 c- 388 o- 0	1685
Bassa	m- 0 f- 109	y- 109 a- 0	1- 0 2- 109 3- 0	p- 0 c- 0 o- 109	109
Boufi	m- 94 f- 0	y- 0 a- 94	1- 0 2- 94 3- 0	p- 0 c- 0 o- 94	94
Dagba	m- 0 f- 109	y- 109 a- 0	1- 0 2- 109 3- 0	p- 0 c- 0 o- 109	109
Gbaya	m- 1115 f- 0	y- 0 a- 1115	1- 215 2- 900 3- 0	p- 900 c- 0 o- 215	1115
Gbɛya-Suma	m- 7578 f- 0	y- 233 a- 7345	1- 0 2- 4431 3- 3147	p- 4431 c- 0 o- 3147	7578

Language	Sex	Age	Degree of sophistication	Religion	Totals
Igbo	m- 589 f- 0	y- 0 a- 589	1- 0 2- 0 3- 589	p- 0 c- 0 o- 589	589
Isungu	m- 0 f- 323	y- 0 a- 323	1- 0 2- 0 3- 323	p- 0 c- 0 o- 323	323
Kaba	m- 282 f- 432	y- 282 a- 432	1- 0 2- 714 3- 0	p- 714 c- 0 o- 0	714
Kąrę	m- 0 f- 482	y- 0 a- 482	1- 0 2- 482 3- 0	p- 482 c- 0 o- 0	482
Laka	m- 363 f- 0	y- 363 a- 0	1- 0 2- 0 3- 363	p- 363 c- 0 o- 0	363
Ngbaka-Manza	m- 3272 f- 871	y- 0 a- 4143	1- 0 2- 2274 3- 1869	p- 2621 c- 1412 o- 110	4143
Sango	m- 0 f- 1790	y- 1790 a- 0	1- 0 2- 0 3- 1790	p- 1790 c- 0 o- 0	1790
Yakoma	m- 0 f- 304	y- 0 a- 304	1- 0 2- 0 3- 304	p- 304 c- 0 o- 0	304
Zande	m- 1539 f- 0	y- 0 a- 1539	1- 0 2- 797 3- 742	p- 797 c- 0 o- 742	1539
Unknown	m-11487 f- 2360	y- 728 a-13119	1- 0 2- 1427 3-12420	p- 1699 c- 1368 o-10780	13847
Totals	m-27266 f- 9306	y- 4002 a-32570	1- 215 2-13189 3-23168	p-16768 c- 3168 o-16636	36572

Table of word counts according to the kinds of texts.

Kind	Sentence corpus	Other	Total	Examples
A	6126	465	6591	385
C	2110		2110	174
F	1403		1403	95
I	2238		2238	139
N	2690		2690	148
R	2775	11874	14649	574
Total on tapes	17342	12339	29681	1515
Letters	502	6389	6891	271
Grand totals	17844	18728	36572	1860


C.R.T.
BERBERATI
NAGATE
MBAIKI
BANGUI
BOUNGUINZA
BOKOIN
BOSSEMBELE
BOZOUM
BOSSON
BOSSANGOA
BOGUILA
BATANGAFO
FT. ARCHAMBAULT
BOUCA
FT. SIBUT
FT. CRAMPEL
DOUKOUMA
BAKALA
BAMBARI
MAKOROU
YATINGANZA
BRIA
OUADDA
OBO
MBOKO
175
65
140
95
65
52
60
70
95
115
100
65
143
143
147
380 (air)
560 (air)

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Recording Localities

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Abbreviations and symbols

A	anecdote texts
Aa	ante-noun adjunctive
adj.	adjunctive
Ap	post-noun adjunctive
Au	universal adjunctive
Av	verbal adjunctive
C	connective
	verbal clause, p. 236
	conversation texts
ex.	example(s)
F	fable texts
Fr.	French
I	interjection
	interview texts
L	letter texts
lit.	literally
M	bound morpheme, p. 281
N	noun
	narrative texts
NV	non-verbal clause, p. 236
p	plural (e.g. 2p)
Pr	pronoun
Pa	sentence particle
R	radio texts
s	subordinate clause, p. 236
	singular
V	verb

[ ]	phonetic segment
	editorial insertions, p. 244
...	unintelligible, p, 244
|	separate constructions, p. 236
( )	complex clause, p. 236
(...)	omitted material, p. 244
-	separate affix in French words
-	conjunctive union, p. 236
{ }	non-lexically marked clauses, p. 244
	subject constructions, p. 207
	substantive phrases, p. 168
*	sentence fractions, p. 215
**	emendations, p. 244
,	disjunctive union, p. 236
<	derived from, borrowed from
/	out of
~	or

PART ONE: PHONOLOGY

Chapter 1

PHONEMES

The phonemes of Sango subsume pitch and pausal (i.e. prosodic and junctural) features as well as segmental ones. Pitch features are phonemically contrastive not only in the tonal phonemes but also in the intonational contours where pausal features are also significant. Stress is not a significant feature of the phonemic structure of the language, but it is used expressively. In this section consonants, vowels, and tones are taken up in that order.

1.10. Consonants

The consonants are schematically presented in the following chart before they are described and exemplified below:

Stops	p	t	k	kp	
	b	d	g	gb	
	mb	nd	ng	ngb	
	b'				
Nasals	m	n			
Fricatives	f	s			h
	v	z			
		nz			
Vibrant		r			
Continuants		l			
		y	w		

The voiceless stops (p t k kp) are produced with varying degrees of aspiration, from very little to quite a bit, depending rather on the linguistic background of the speaker and the style of the particular discourse than on the immediate phonological environment. In the speech of Banda country folk [tš], i.e. an alveopalatal affricate, replaces t before the vowel i.

Speakers of Ngambay and Fulani languages very often replace p and b for the coarticulated stops (kp gb).

The voiced stops with nasal onsets (mb nd ng ngb) are like the other voiced stops except for the prenasalization. These nasal segments are very brief and never appear to figure as the end of a preceding phonetic syllable. That is, kɔ́ndɔ 'chicken' is pronounced [kɔ́.ndɔ] and not [kɔ́n.dɔ]. The symbols ng and ngb are convenient representations of phonemes which are more accurately represented as ŋg and ŋmgb. These phonemes are occasionally realized in the connectives tongana and ngbangatí as phonetic [ŋ], i.e. a velar nasal, and [ŋm], i.e. a coarticulated velar-bilabial nasal. Those people who use no kp and gb naturally do not use ngb. Other variations are on a phonemic level and are discussed below in chapter 2.

Some speakers use implosive stops b' and d' in the words kóbe 'food' and fadé 'fast' whereas others use the simple plosive ones. But in the words b'ɔngɔ́ 'hyena' and b'anda 'to ponder' our informant consistently used implosive stops. Other than making these observations, one hesitates in saying anything about the function of implosion in the language.

Contrasts between stop consonants

pá	'to accuse'	báa	'to see'
pé	'to twist (rope)'	bá	'middle'
tɛ	'to eat'	de	'to remain'
té	'to meet'	dé	'to chop'
ta	'pot'	da	'house'
ká	'to sell'	gá	'to come'
kɔ́	'to pluck'	gɔ́	'neck'
pé	'to twist'	kpé	'to flee'
kó	'to germinate'	kpó	'quiet'
ka	'then'	kpa	'to resemble'
kpa	'to resemble'	gba	'to copulate'
kpí	'to be sour'	gbí	'to burn'
kpó	'quiet'	gbó	'to grasp'
bi	'to throw'	gbí	'to burn'
báa	'to see'	gba	'to copulate'
bi	'to throw'	mbi	'I'
dé	'cold'	ndé	'different'
da	'house'	ndá	'end'

dú	'hole'	ndú	'to touch'
gá	'to come'	ngá	'also'
gɔ́	'neck'	ngɔ́	'canoe'
gbá	'in vain'	ngbá	'to remain'

The fricatives (f s h v z nz) have a considerable range of phonetic realization. Ngbambay-speaking people substitute f and v for p and b, and vice versa. However, the more they speak town Sango, the less this alternation characterizes their speech. Other speakers, like the Isungu (also called Mbati) will use a voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ] for f. Both s and z are different from similar French and English sounds. Although they can be produced as sibilants, like the English counterparts, they very often have some if not considerable grooved articulation, similar to but not identical with the sound represented by sh as in 'shoe.' Other speakers, like the Banda, even use an affricate [dž]. The same is true for nz, which occurs as [nž] and [ndž]. The country talk of people whose language does not have [nz], e.g. the Gbaya, is characterized by [nd]. The phoneme represented by h is realized in the speech of some people by a voiceless nonsyllabic but vocalic onset (quite similar to the initial segment in the American English word 'he') and in the speech of other people by a glottal stop: e.g. [hɔ̨́] and [ʔɔ̨́] 'to pass.'

The prenasalized fricative mv (where m stands for a labio-dental nasal) is marginal, occurring in the speech of some people only in the words mvɛnɛ 'lie' and mvɛní 'owner.' When it does occur, it is usually preceded by another vowel. In other words, at the beginning of an utterance, one is more likely to hear v than mv.

1. vɛnɛ tí mɔ 'That's a lie!'
2. lo sára mvɛnɛ 'He is lying.'

This alternation between mv and v does not appear to be correlated with differences between town and country speech, although one tends to hear mv more frequently in the speech of people who have had training under Catholics or Protestants. However, the deceased President Boganda, whose speech can certainly not be described as country speech, used v-forms.

Contrasts between fricative consonants

fa	'to show'	vɔ	'to buy'
sí	'to arrive'	zí	'to dig'
sá	'to pour'	zía	'to place'
sɔ	'to hurt'	zɔ́	'to burn'
zí	'to dig'	nzí	'to steal'
zɔ́	'to burn'	nzó	'corn'
zɛ	'leopard'	nzɛ	'moon'

In spite of the substitution of l and r for each other in many words, there is a contrast between the two phonemes, which is illustrated by the following words:

ngɔ́lɔ	'fish trap'	ngɔ́rɔ	'to surround'
mbúlú	'powder'	mbúrú	'oil palm'
fúlu	'froth'	fúru	'mix with one's hands'
wala	'or else'	wara	'to find'

The phoneme l is not characterized by more than one discernible phonetic form: it is apico-alveolar without distinctive coarticulated tongue or lip modifications. On the other hand, r has several phonetic forms. These depend to a great extent on the linguistic background of the speaker of Sango. There is a voiced lateral flap (which is produced by drawing back the tip of the tongue to middle of the roof of the mouth and then striking the roof as the tip goes forward) which is common among the Gbanu people. Others, like the Banda, use an apico-dental single flap (not too different from the flap in the American pronunciation of 'Betty'). An apico-dental trill (i.e. multiple flap) occurs in a few words under special stylistic conditions (e.g. emphasis). A uvular flap like the French one is not native to Sango but it is used by French-speaking bilinguals in words of known French origin and also occasionally in Sango words in very affected speech. Naturally, those people whose language does not have a contrast between a lateral continuant [l] and some kind of flap, using only the former, will not likely make a distinction until they have learned it well.

The continuants w and y are not substantially different from the English segments initial in the words 'was' and 'yes.' When they precede nasalized vowels, however, they too are nasalized. In this environment y may actually be realized as a segment approaching an alveopalatal nasal [ñ]. E.g. wɛ̃ 'iron,' yɛ̃ 'what?' It is not unknown for w to occur as a segment approaching a voiced bilabial fricative (as recorded in awe 'finished' in the speech of a Gbaya at Berberati). For further comments on [w] and [y] sounds see below 2.21.

1.20. Vowels

1.21. Seven degrees of differentiation are to be distinguished in Sango oral vowels, three front vowels (i e ɛ), three back vowels (u o ɔ) and one central vowel (a). This is the number which is necessary to account for the distinctions made by individual speakers of Sango. (Contrasts and examples are given in the lists below.) When one compares the words used by one speaker with words used by another speaker, however, he finds different vowels being used in the same words. He can account for the alternation between vowels as different as a and ɛ by saying that here are vowel phonemes in variation in given words (as is done below in 2.22). But where there is variation between the front vowels (i e ɛ) themselves and between the back vowels (u o ɔ) themselves, he suspects that one of them at least might not be significant. The suspicion is increased by the fact that one hears vowel qualities which lie somewhere between i and e, and between e and ɛ (and likewise for the back vowels). As the following lists demonstrate, however, there are sufficient contrasts to maintain a seven-vowel phonemic system. One appropriately observes, moreover, that if the system were represented by two front (say i and e) and two back (say u and o) vowels, he would never know what any speaker was going to use in a particular word since gradations away from any norm are not conditioned by phonological environment. A practical, standardized orthography is another matter, one which does not concern us here.

The vowels i and u are high, tense, short, and unglided (i.e. without any significant nonsyllabic offgliding). The vowels e and o, on the other hand, have allophones which seem to glide from lower varieties of high (sometimes resembling the vowel in the English word 'it' pronounced in isolation) to higher varieties of mid. Before terminal or non-terminal pause the vowels e and ɛ are sometimes realized as very brief diphthongs, i.e. with a non-syllabic glide to the position of [i]. But it is never as pronounced as it is in the American English 'they.' Likewise, ɛ and ɔ have higher and lower varieties. (This situation compares with that which exists between different but related languages: both the Gbaya of Bossangoa and the Gbanu of Bossembele have three front and back vowels, but the front vowel ɛ of Gbanu is higher than the vowel ɛ of Gbaya.) When nasalized, however, ɛ and ɔ are considerably lower than the oral ones.

A central vowel higher than a (not too distant from the English vowel of 'but') is heard in the speech of some people, particularly those who speak Banda and Ngbambay languages. This is no additional vowel phoneme. It is rather a dialectal pronunciation of certain standard vowels, most often a and o. Where it does occur, it does not replace all other vowels of a particular quality. While the patterns for interference have not been worked out, it is very likely that something about the phonological structure of the primary language is the determining factor.

Contrasts and examples

i		e	
bí	'night'	bé	'middle'
kpí	'to be sour'	kpé	'to flee'
zí	'to dig'	zé	'to promise'
li	'head'	lé	'face'
bi	'to throw'	be	'to weary someone'
gí	'only'	ge	'here'
sindi	'sesame'	séngé	'insignificant'
kírí	'to return'	péré	'grass'
gígí	'outside'	dede	'horn of animal'
bírí	'yesterday'	berá	'war'
díkɔ	'to read'	deko	'rat'
hínga	'to know'	kéké	'tree'

e		ɛ	
bé	'middle'	bɛ́	'liver'
sé	'to be bitter'	sɛ́	'to recline'
zé	'to promise'	zɛ	'leopard'
—		nzɛ́	'to get weary'
kéké	'tree'	lɛkɛ	'to fix'
kété	'small'	pɛtɛ	'to squeeze'
ngéré	'price'	gɛ́rɛ́	'leg'

mbéní	**'some'**	**mbɛ́tí**	**'book'**
péré	**'grass'**	**tɛ́rɛ́**	**'body'**
lenge	**'beads'**	**pɛpɛ**	**'negative'**
dede	**'animal horn'**	**gɛnɛ**	**'guest'**
éré	**'name'**	**gbɛ́**	**'underneath'**
kpé	**'to flee'**	**kóɛ́**	**'all'**
lége	**'path'**	**mɛ**	**'breast'**
lélé	**'donkey'**	**mɛnɛ**	**'to swallow'**
u		**o**	
kú	**'to wait'**	**kó**	**'to germinate'**
ndú	**'to touch'**	**ndó**	**'atop'**
lú	**'to plant'**	**lo**	**'3rd pers. sg. pers. pron.'**
pupu	**'wind'**	**pópó**	**'amidst'**
burú	**'dry season'**	**bólo**	**'to stone'**
gúrú	**'smoke'**	**gólo**	**'to knock'**
ndúzú	**'sky'**	**ngóro**	**'certain variety of lion'**
purú	**'excrement'**	**póró**	**'skin'**
yuru	**'to flow'**	**yoró**	**'medicine'**
kugbé	**'leaf'**	**kombá**	**'guinea hen'**
ngunzá	**'manioc leaves'**	**ngonda**	**'bush'**
kúngbi	**'to break'**	**bóngbi**	**'to assemble'**
lutí ká	**'stand there!'**	**lo tí ká**	**'he fell there'**
o		**ɔ**	
tó	**'to dip up'**	**tɔ́**	**'to cook by boiling'**
kó	**'to germinate'**	**kɔ́**	**'to pluck'**
nzó	**'corn'**	**zɔ́**	**'to roast'**
kpó	**'quiet'**	**kpɔ**	**'to pierce'**
so	**'to save'**	**sɔ**	**'to hurt'**
bóndó	**'mil'**	**bɔngɔ́**	**'cloth'**
kóngo	**'mallet'**	**kɔ́ngɔ́**	**'rainbow'**
kóso	**'to drag'**	**kɔ́sɔ́**	**'certain seed'**
kpoto	**'hat'**	**kpɔrɔ**	**'to boil'**

ndéndó	'brain'	**ndɔ́kɔ́**	'flower'
ngóro	'certain var. of lion'	**ngɔ́rɔ**	'to surround'
sónzó	'wild dog'	**sɔ́sɔ́**	'to defecate'
yoró	'medicine'	**yɔ́rɔ**	'to insert'
kóngbá	'load'	**kɔ́ngba**	'frog'
kóri	'cushion'	**kɔ́li**	'man'

a

báa	'to see'	**gbá**	'in vain'
babá	'father'	**hánda**	'to deceive'
bágara	'cow'	**ká**	'there'
bámará	'lion'	**kámba**	'rope'
da	'house'	**mánga**	'tobacco'
dambá	'tail'	**ngása**	'goat'
galá	'market'	**nzala**	'hunger'
ganzá	'circumcision'	**papa**	'spoon'

1.22. As a general rule, back and front vowels which follow a consonant and immediately precede another vowel lose their syllabicity. This means that one hears [w] and [y] segments instead, with the former being much more common than the latter. In fact, some words are always heard with a [w] only. In order to avoid arbitrariness which would conceal the quality of the vowel represented by a nonsyllabic w, it is preferable to represent all such non-syllabic segments by vocalic symbols. The segment [y] is assigned to i (in spite of the fact that i and e can sometimes alternate with each other), but it is not possible to assign all [w] segments to u. The reason is that words like [kwa] 'work,' [gwe] 'to go,' and [kwé] 'all' are never heard with [u], if a post-consonantal syllabic segment is heard at all, but with [ɔ] and [o] respectively. Rather arbitrarily therefore I have assigned post-consonantal [w] to u if it precedes i, to o if it precedes e, and to ɔ if it precedes a. The non-syllabic ones are therefore shown to occur only preceding a vowel (when not preceded by a consonant) and intervocalically. (Fricatives s and z which are followed by i and a vowel are often replaced by a simple fricative, q.v. 2.22).

[w] can occur		[y] can occur	
kúí	'to die'	bíá	'song'
kóɛ́	'all'	bíaní	'truly'
kɔ́á	'hair'	bíakú	'truly'
kɔa	'work'	bíó	'bone'
goe	'to go'	híɔ	'quickly'
ngui	'colombus monkey'	miombe	'eight'
sɔ́á	'needle'	ngiá	'game'
gɔ́gɔ́á	'buffalo'	ndiá	'law'
ngɔngɔa	'seed grain'	zía	'to place'
ngɔ́ngɔ́á	'ritual defilement'	sioní	'bad'
ndao	'blacksmith'	bói	'servant'
		kái	'to hush'
		kawai	'pumpkin'
		mái	'to grow'
		sái	'leaven'

1.23. Nasalized vowels occur only as ɛ̨, ų, ɔ̨, and ą. (There is no attested example of į.) As has been pointed out, the nasalized vowels ɛ̨ and ɔ̨ are phonetically lower than the oral counterparts (ɛ and ɔ). Nasalization of one degree or another also occurs following the nasal consonants (m n) in the speech of some people.

Nasalized vowels		Oral vowels	
fɛ̨́	'odor'	--	
fų́	'to smell'	fú	'to sew'
hą́	'to ponder'	há	'to weave'
hɔ̨́	'to pass'	hɔ́tɔ́	'hill'
kɛ̨	'to refuse'	kɛ	'to be'
wɛ̨́	'iron'	kóɛ́	'all'
yɛ̨	'what?'	yɛnɛ́	'anus'
yąma	'animal'	--	
yɔ̨́	'to drink'	yɔ́	'to be long'

1.24. Long vowels (i.e. phonetically long with a single articulation) occur with different or identical tones. They are represented as sequences of two identical vowels. While they never contrast with short vowels, they are phonetically distinct from them. This failure to be contrastive and the feature of alternation between long and short vowels make length marginally significant in Sango. What is meant by alternation is that words like báa 'see,' fáa 'cut,' záá (otherwise zía) 'put,' kíi 'spines,' and kűíi 'death' also occur with the final vowel omitted. Another interesting feature is that among the words with long vowels are several which have high or low tones exclusively and are grammatically nouns. Moreover, although Mr. Nambozouina was quite insistent about their pronunciation in this form (at least in isolation), they do occur as monosyllables elsewhere. (It is doubtful that this list is idiolectal, however. One letter to Radio Bangui actually spelled 'breast' with two e's.) This particular list of words can conveniently be normalized as monosyllabic.

Normalized nouns		Other words	
dű	'hole'	andáa	'in other words'
fɛ̨́	'odor'	báa	'to see'
gbá	'bundle'	fáa	'to cut'
gɔ́	'neck'	ndaráa	'skill'
hɔ̨́	'nose'	ndóo	'pot-making clay'
ká	'wound'	ngbii	'long time'
kpu	'mortar'	taá	'true, real'
mɛ́	'ear'	záá	'to put'
mɛ	'breast'	ngbáá	'slave'
		ngbáa	'buffalo'

1.30. Tones

1.31. There are three phonemic tones in Sango, high, mid, and low. For reasons given below mid is not symbolized, but high tone is marked by the diacritic (´) and low tone is left unmarked. There are glides from low to a higher level and from high to a lower level. These are represented as sequences of low-high and high-low respectively. Examples of the minimally contrastive use of high and low tones follow immediately; a summary list of tones classified by sequence patterns closes this section.

Contrastive use of tone

de	'to remain'	dé	'to chop'
mɛ	'breast'	mɛ́	'ear'
ngɔ	'drum'	ngɔ́	'canoe'
kɔa	'work'	kɔ́á	'hair'
yingɔ́	'spirit'	yíngɔ́	'salt'
baba	'pride'	babá	'father'
papa	'spoon'	pápa	'sandal'
kánga	'prison'	kángá	'hartebeest'
gonda	'to praise'	gónda	'kind of medicine'
bata	'to keep'	batá	'squirrel'
buba	'to ruin'	búbá	'foolish'
kɔ́rɔ	'to pierce'	kɔ́rɔ́	'cold (illness)'
lenge	'beads'	lengé	'certain dance'
lele	'certain small antelope'	lélé	'donkey'
mɛnɛ	'to swallow'	mɛ́nɛ́	'blood'
ndo	'place'	ndó	'atop'
nganga	'certain fetish'	ngángá	'bottle'
ngása	'goat'	ngásá	'wild yam'
ngbáa	'buffalo'	ngbáá	'slave'
ngɔngɔa	'seed grain'	ngɔ́ngɔ́á	'ritual defilement'
nzɛ	'moon'	nzɛ́	'to get weary'
samba	'beer'	sambá	'co-wife'
sara	'forked pole'	sárá	'itch (condition)'
sará	'name of tribe'	sára	'to do'
tɛrɛ	'spider'	tɛ́rɛ́	'body'
to	'to send'	tó	'to dip up'
uru	'to blow'	úlu	'to jump'
wa	'inhabitant'	wá	'fire'
yɔ	'to be long'	yɔ́	'to bear a load'

The preceding lists of words demonstrate the importance of low and high tones in lexical differentiation. No similar function is found in the grammar. The contrast between tɛnɛ 'to say' and tɛ́nɛ́ 'word' is no exception. This distinction between verb and noun was inherited from Ngbandi.

1.32. As one might expect in a language spoken by bilinguals of many different linguistic backgrounds, there is a considerable amount of variation in tones from speaker to speaker and even in the speech of a single speaker. This does not mean, however, that there is tonal chaos in Sango. In everybody's speech there appear three distinct tones, but the phonetic realization of these tones depends in part on the primary language of the speaker. While this statement can be proven for Gbaya-speaking people (as is demonstrated below), it is still only an assumption for all others. In addition to phonetic variations, there are variations between tones: that is, certain words are pronounced with one tone (or sequence of tones) by one person and with another tone by another person. This phenomenon, however, is no different from the substitution of different consonants or vowels for each other (which is illustrated below). These tone alterations are, moreover, in some instances patterned ones. There is therefore no reason to believe that a disyllabic word sometimes heard as low-low will also be heard as low-high, high-low, and high-high.

As an illustration of the kind of tonal interference which operates in Sango, one can look at what occasionally happens to low tone in the speech of Mr. Nambozouina, a Gbɛya from Bossangoa. Following a voiceless consonant in an utterance following pause, low tone is realized as a very rapidly falling glide from a level only slightly higher than one would expect for low in the same environment. The following words occurred with this feature:

pupu	'wind'	samba	'beer'
taba	'sheep'	tanga	'remainder'
finí	'new'	sara	'forked pole'
fɔndɔ	'plantain'	kpoto	'hat'
fa	'to show'		

Another example of tonal interference from Gbɛya is the substitution of low tone for high tone when followed by high tone across open juncture. Compare the words for 'buffalo' in the following sentences:

1. gɔ́gɔá asára ngangó na lo 'A buffalo hurt him badly.'
2. lo goe ndurú na gɔgɔa ní 'He went close to the buffalo.'

But there is one pattern of alternation in Mr. Nambozouina's speech for which there is yet no explanation. It is the alternation of high-high and low-high in many words. Thus, he uses both tɛ́mɛ́ and tɛmɛ́ 'stone,' púrú and purú 'excrement,' dɔ́dɔ́ and dɔdɔ́ 'dance,' as well as gɔ́gɔ́á (in addition to the above forms), but always kétɛ́ 'small.'

1.33. Mid tone (i.e. one which is between high and low in a given environment) is a marginal phoneme in Sango. In only five words does it contrast with high and low tones in an identical tonal frame. Four words are all nouns having the tone sequence high-mid and one word is a monosyllabic sentence particle:

kɔ́li	'man'
wále	'woman'
ngágo	'spinach'
ita	'sibling'
o	sentence particle

Since there are so few words with mid tone, it is nowhere symbolized in this grammar.

Other occurrences of a tone level which can be called mid are explained as being either the free variation of high and mid tones (phonetically) following voiced consonants or else the result of the influence of intonational (i.e. sentence) contours.

1.34. Sentences and phrases like the following were used as frames for the determination of pitch differences. They can be used also to great advantage in tone drills. Within the brackets <...> other nouns and verbs can be substituted.

1. < yąma > ní 'the animal'
2. < yąma > ɔ́kɔ 'one animal'
3. < yąma > otá 'three animals'
4. kɔ́tá <yąma > 'a big animal'
5. tɛ́nɛ́ tí < yąma > ní 'the matter of the animal'
6. < yąma > aɛkɛ na ndo wa 'Where is the animal?'
7. lo mú na mɔ < yąma > awe 'He already gave you meat.'
8. sɔ́ aɛkɛ < yąma > tí lo 'This is his meat.'
9. sɔ́ < yąma > tí lo 'This is his meat.'
10. < yąma > tí lo aɛkɛ míngi 'He has a lot of meat.'

11. < yąma > laá sí lo sára tɛ́nɛ́ ní 'He's talking about the meat.'
12. lo ɛkɛ na < yąma > míngi 'He has a lot of meat.'
13. lo yí kété < yąma > ní 'He wants the small animal.'
14. lo < sára > awe 'He did it already.'
15. ála goe tí < píka > lo 'They went to hit him.'
16. lo < sára sárángó > 'He's really working.'

1.35. Here follow examples of high and low tones in polysyllabic words.

High-High:		High-Low:	
pópó	'middle'	ngbúru	'embroil'
kírí	'return'	fúta	'wages'
súmá	'dream'	mángo	'mango'
yángá	'mouth'	lége	'road'
lɔ́rɔ́	'speed'	língbi	'be able'
ndóngé	'red pepper'	yɔ́rɔ	'insert'
gɛ́rɛ́	'foot'	ɔ́kɔ	'one'
kɔ́ngɔ́	'rainbow'	gbánzi	'hinder'
fúfú	'lung'	kpɔ́ka	'hoe'
hɔ́tɔ́	'hill'	kóngo	'mallet'
yíngɔ́	'salt'	bólo	'to stone'
lóndó	'rise'	ngɔ́rɔ	'surround'
kóngbá	'load'	ála	'they'
búbá	'foolish'	wɔ́kɔ	'weaken'
kéké	'tree'	sára	'do'
séngé	'without...'	bóngbi	'gather'
Low-Low:		**Low-High:**	
kɔnɔ	'be big'	ngunzá	'manioc greens'
nginza	'money'	yoró	'medicine'
sara	'forked stick'	fadé	'fast'
lenge	'necklace'	ukú	'five'
wara	'receive'	dambá	'tail'
ulu	'jump'	tará	'grandmother'
awe	'all finished'	vurú	'white'
venɛ	'lie'	lavú	'bee'

sisi	'thorn'
dede	'horn of animal'
kpaka	'scratch'
baba	'pride'
mɛnɛ	'swallow'
lando	'plain'
yuru	'leak'
zonga	'curse'

yingɔ́	'spirit'
mbunzú	'White Man'
gindí	'bow'
kulá	'vengeance'
sɛmbɛ́	'dish'
Nzapá	'god'
pɔnɔ́	'suffering'
bozó	'bag'

Miscellaneous polysyllabic patterns:

High-high-high

kóróngó	'fan palm'
báságbó	'eland'
wátáká	'a lie'
ngbéréná	'brass bracelet'
báláwá	'shea nut or tree'

High-low-low

bágara	'bovine animal'

Low-low-high

lukundú	'witch spirit'
makɔrɔ́	'calumny'

omaná	'six'
likongó	'spear'

Low-high-high

dawóló	'a certain dance'
gugúrú	'small fish'

High-high-high-high

kpítíkpítí	'very dark black'
mbírímbírí	'straight'
ngɛ́lɛ́ngɛ́lɛ́	'manner of shining'

Low-low-low

ndavɛkɛ	'syphilis'
mafuta	'oil'
yɛngɛrɛ	'sieve'
pendere	'young'
zaranga	'roan antelope'

Low-high-low

tambéla	'walk'
mabɔ́kɔ	'hand'
lungúla	'remove'
kolóngo	'basin'
sumári	'a certain secret society'
kusára	'work'
ndakóro	'plant used as washcloth'

High-low-high

kótará	'ancestor'
bákoyá	'baboon'
mɛ́rɛngɛ́	'child'
bámará	'lion'
kógará	'father-in-law'
búburú	'dumb'

High-high-high-low

kékéréke

Low-low-low-low

kutukutu	'automobile'

High-low-high-low

másarágba	'rhinoceros'

High-high-low-low

kíríkiri	'crooked'
bíríbiri	'kind of beer'

Low-low-high-low

adorónu	'Hausa salt'
pɔtɔpɔ́tɔ	'gruel'

Chapter 2

VARIATIONS

Taken as a whole, the Sango language spoken by different people from different parts of the country is characterized by a considerable amount of phonologic variation. This means that one will hear forms as phonetically different as [tǫą] for [toŋgana] 'when' and [mbúmbrí] for [mbírímbírí] 'straight.' As long as these variations are not classified, the language gives one the impression of being heterogeneous and unstable. It is for this reason that some people have announced that there is no single language, that it lacks homogeneity. Variations do occur, but most of them are clearly patterned and, moreover, there is no variation which works against effective communication.

This section deals with patterned variations on a phonemic level. Allophonic variations (as between [z ž dž] for z) and the reduction of phonemic contrasts (as p and b for kp and gb) were discussed in the preceding section. Likewise, alternations affecting f, v, nz, mv, and the tones were discussed above. Certain other variations are not described here because they involve individual words and reveal no general pattern (e.g. faasó for fadesó). These variations would be recorded in a dictionary. The remaining variations are classified as external (when they are due to the placing of one word against another, i.e. in external sandhi) and internal (when there is no correlation with external environment). The latter involve individual consonants and vowels or both. The former involve final vowels.

2.10. External Changes

External changes occur with final vowels, which are elided under different conditions. First, the second of identical vowels in a vowel-vowel sequence can be elided in any environment. The words most commonly involved are báa 'to see,' fáa 'to cut,' andáa 'in other words,' and taá 'real.'

Secondly, final vowels are elided when followed by another word with an initial vowel. Only in the case of apɛ 'negative marker' is an initial vowel elided. Since this elision is optional, it is not indicated in this grammar apart from the examples, where the elided vowels are included within parentheses. On the basis of a few examples (noteably those words with the consonant t left after elision) one is justified in saying that elision is accompanied by special articulatory features. It seems that elision results in a resyllabification of a segment such that a consonant closes a syllable and is longer than an ordinary consonant intervocalically. Thus, there is a phonetic difference between [to.to.a.pɛ] and [tot.a.pɛ] 'not cry' (where period indicates syllable division).

It should be remembered in connection with elision that whether or not it occurs, intervocalic hiatus between words is uncommon. Of course, where there is a pause (either non-terminal or terminal), there is hiatus. But within a stretch of speech bordered by pause, juxtaposed vowels are run together. Since there are only a few words with initial vowels, this phenomenon involves just these words again and again.

1.	lo goe na galá (a)pɛ -A44	'He didn't go to the market.'
2.	lo kɛ (a)pɛ	'He's not there.'
3.	só bɔngɔ́ t(í) ála ma	'Those are their clothes!'
4.	mbi tɛnɛ n(a) ála kóé -R9b	'I told all of you.'
5.	mɔ tot(o) apɛ -N8o	'Don't cry.'
6.	yí s(ó) akɛ píka í na ndo só .. -R6	'The thing which is hitting us here...'
7.	ngbangatí tɛ́nɛ́ só mɔ tɛnɛ amú ngiá na mbi laá, mbi hɛ́ s(ó) apɛ? -C31	'Isn't it because of what you said which gave me joy that I am laughing?'
8.	kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ ní akɛ nzon(í) apɛ -N8o	'The village is not good.'
9.	s(ó) akɛ nzon(í) apɛ -R6	'That is not good.'
1o.	nzala tí kíríngó na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ asára mbi bían(í) apɛ -N81	'I don't have any real desire to return home.'
11.	ála kɛ g(á) ánde -R7b	'They will be coming later.'
12.	ámbɛ́ní akɛ lɔ́nd(ó) ánde -R7d	'Others will be leaving later.'
13.	akɛ pát(a) óse -N78	'It's two patas (i.e. ten francs).'
14.	tongana ála kɔn(ɔ) awe -A49	'After they have grown up....'
15.	lángó bal(e) ɔ́kɔ na óse -R7b	'on the twelfth (day)'

16. mɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí l(o) akɛ -R6 'He has a child.'

17. ato ngá mbɛ́tí na í g(e) 'He sent us a letter saying...'
atɛnɛ... -R7d

2.20. Internal Changes

Internal changes involve single consonants and vowels or a vowel and a consonant. These word variations can not be correlated with any known phonologic or grammatical environment.

2.21. Consonant alternations are of four types: alternations between l and r, between voiced and voiceless consonants, between a simple stop consonant and a prenasalized one, and between one position of r and another position of the same consonant.

The alternation between l and r is a common one in spite of the phonemic contrast between these two segments, which was demonstrated above. Not all words having l or r are characterized by such alternation, however. This is therefore a generalized pattern of alternation still lexically determined (i.e. correlated with a certain few words). Some of these words are the following:

ála	'they'	sukúla	'to wash'
bara	'to greet'	galá	'market'
li	'head'	kɔ́li	'man'
nzala	'hunger'	wále	'woman'
ngéré	'price'	kobéla	'sickness'
sára	'to do'	mɛ́rɛngɛ́	'child'

Alternations between voiced and voiceless consonants (i.e. b/p, gb/kp, s/z, etc.) are quite widespread. They are most common, however, among people who are native speakers of a Gbaya language.

Alternations between a simple voiced stop, a prenasalized stop, and a nasal consonant of the same articulation occur without any particular language being responsible. Words which are characterized by such alternations are the following:

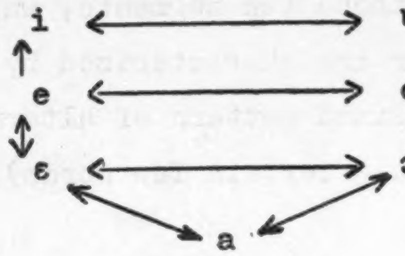
lége ~ lénge 'way
mabɔ́kɔ ~ mambɔ́ka 'hand'

zɛmɛ ~ zɛmbɛ 'knife'

mbunzú ~ munzú ~ muzú ~ bunzú 'White Man'

An alternation between h and w occurs before the vowel u. Only a very few words are involved: hú 'to breathe,' húnzi 'to complete,' húnda 'to ask.' The consonant h can also alternate with nothing. That is, it can be dropped out leaving no consonant in its place. What one hears as a [y] in its place is probably the transition between two vowels. Thus: [mbi yúnda lɔ] 'I ask him.' Here and elsewhere, it should be remembered, a glottal stop [ʔ] can occur instead of [h].

2.22. Alternations involving vowels are probably the most common of all alternations. Stated in terms of pairs of vowels, the pattern of alternations permits any vowel to substitute for the vowels most like it. The following chart schematizes the possibilities:



As one might deduce from these relationships, one can find a chain of alternations which includes the vowels i, e, ɛ, a, and ɔ. But it would be erroneous to say that i alternates with ɔ. It is the oral vowels which are under discussion here. No such alternations seem to characterize the nasalized vowels which are, at any rate, very few in number and minimally contrastive.

Not all words are characterized by alternate forms. In other words, not all words with u occur also with either i or o. Moreover, it should be noted that sometimes one vowel in a word is substituted for another one, and an identical vowel in that same word is left unchanged.

The following words are only a few of those which have alternant forms.

i ~ e		e ~ ɛ	
dé	'to name'	de	'to remain'
bale	'ten'	lége	'way'

língbi	'to be able'
yí	'to want'
éré	'name'
sése	'earth'
píka	'to strike'
sambéla	'to pray'

o - ɔ

gbɔ́	'to grab'
gozo	'manioc'
kóbe	'food'
kobéla	'sickness'
kɔ́li	'man'
díkɔ	'to count'
híɔ	'quickly'

i - u

bóngbi	'to gather'
yáyú	'sky'

mbéní	'some'
ngéré	'price'
pɛkɔ́	'back'
vɛkɛ́	'okra'
kété	'small'
éré	'name'

o - u

bóngbi	'to gather'
lóndó	'to arise'
makunzi	'chief'
ngunzá	'manioc leaves'
ngonda	'the bush'
lutí	'to arise'
kusára	'work'

a - ɛ

má	'to hear'
omaná	'six'
apɛ - ɛpɛ	'negative marker'
sɛmbɛ́ - sambɛ́	'dish'

Here again are a few words for which there are several different recorded forms (ignoring the consonant changes):

mafuta, mafata, mafɔta	'oil'
pɛkɔ́, pekó, pikó, pokó, pɔkɔ́	'back'
sambíla, sambúla, sambéla	'to pray'

Vowels contiguous to r are quite often elided or the elision may involve both a vowel and the r. The following are a few examples:

ér(é)	'name'
sár(a)	'to do'
tar(á)	'ancestor'
dɔr(ɔ)kɔ - dɔkɔ	'to butcher'
mbírímbírí - mbímbírí - mbrímbrí	'straight'
ndápéréré - ndápéré - ndápér - ndápré	'morning'
kɔ́t(ɔ́)rɔ́	'village'

giri(ri)	'long time ago'
kí(r)í	'to return'
kír(í)kir(i)	'crooked'

In the words zía 'to place' and sioní 'bad' the phoneme i is sometimes dropped with the following results: záá or zá for the first word, and soní for the second word.

Chapter 3

INTONATION

Sango discourse, like that of other languages, is characterized by features of pitch, intensity (stress), pauses, and tempo. These features are correlated in various ways with stretches of speech that are identifiable grammatically, i.e. at certain syntactic boundaries and with units such as phrases and clauses. And although the sentence is a difficult unit to define (q.v. chp. 14, fn. 1), these phonological features are in some way part of its structure. In anticipation of the discussion on syntax, it should be said that what is closed with a period in the Sango transcription is only a stretch of speech which permits identification by an English translation.

Effective communication in any language is in some degree dependent on a control of these phonological features, and Sango is no exception. Here also there are "intonational morphemes," i.e. meanings which are superimposed on an utterance, giving it meaning which is not construed from the segmental morphemes. This is like English of course. What is even more important perhaps is that intonation features (which is how these prosodic and junctural features shall henceforth be called) are important in signalling the inter-relationship between syntactic constructions. Since so much of communication in Sango depends on different ways of joining constructions without the use of function words, comprehension is considerably reduced if one does not identify the signals which mark them. It is probably a failure to properly interpret these signals which more than anything else makes a European get lost while listening to a discourse in Sango. As an example, notice the following expressions where comma marks a slight pause which is accompanied by a tonal glide (ex. 1), or a sustained raised pitch on apɛ (ex. 2):

1.	mɔ kɛ ngá kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ apɛ, mɔ gá tɛ́nɛ́ ní asɔ mɔ, mɔ toto -A21	'If you didn't happen to be in the village, you come and the news hurts you, and you cry.'
2.	hínga apɛ, lo goe bírí	'Perhaps he went yesterday (lit. know not he go yesterday).'

3.10. Pauses

3.11. At least two kinds of pauses must be identified for describing Sango discourse. The first, terminal pause, occurs at the end of an utterance. It is identified by the following characteristics:

1. The absence of those features which characterize non-terminal pause,
2. The occurrence of certain tone contours (which are described below),
3. Being generally longer in time than non-terminal pause,
4. Being accompanied by tonal fadeout of phonemic low tone which may start by a dipping of the pitch level, or
5. Being accompanied by tone levels which are lower (whether phonemically high or low) than the same tone phonemes at the beginning of an utterance (without, however, being similar to the down-step of such languages as Swahili), and
6. Being accompanied by a higher register on the first few syllables of the following utterance.

Since bundles of these features also occur concurrently once or several times within longer stretches of speech, one can identify each of the stretches as being phonologically equivalent with an unbroken utterance. This is one of the criteria for the definition of a "sentence" (q.v. chp. 14, fn. 1). Terminal pause is symbolized by a period.

3.12. The second kind of pause, symbolized by a comma, occurs within an utterance. This non-terminal pause is characterized most frequently by the following features:

1. A slight rising glide from the level of the tone preceding pause, whether high, low, or mid (sometimes accompanied by a slight glottal catch), or
2. A lowered high or a raised low in this same position, or
3. A sustained level pitch with lengthened vowel in this same position, and
4. A short pause, and
5. The absence of features which otherwise characterize terminal pause.

Unlike terminal pause, which seems to always be correlated with a grammatical unit, non-terminal pause occurs both at syntactic junctures (where it is functional) and at points of hesitation (where it is by no means grammatically functional). The syntactic constructions which are accompanied by a non-terminal pause are various types of dependent clauses in protasis (ex. 1-6), constructions in series (ex. 7-9), constructions preceding a dependent clause, primarily tenɛ 'to say' (ex. 10-11), and various types of pre-clausal constructions (q.v. chp. 12, ex. 12-13). It can also follow connectives (ex. 14-15), separate a subject from the predicate (ex. 16-17), and even break up parts of a verb phrase. The last three occurrences are probably not functional and should not be indicated in the transcription of texts.

1.	tongana mɔ sára tongasó pɛpɛ, lá kóé mɔ kɛ wara malade -A8	'If you don't do it like this, you'll always be getting sick.'
2.	tongana ayí tí sí na six heures et demie awe, só ndo avɔkɔ́ awe, lo goe na kɔ́li só ... -F4	'When it was about six thirty, when it had already become dark, she went to this man...'
3.	tongana lo sí ká awe, áwále só kóé agá así -F7	'After he had arrived there, all these women came and arrived.'
4.	lo tɛ ngunzá ní kóé awe, mɔ goe mɔ mú na lo ngú -A11	'After he has eaten all the manioc greens, you go and give him water.'
5.	mɔ lɛkɛ kóé awe, fadesó mɔ gá mɔ túku mafuta na yá ta -A8	'After you have prepared it all, then you come and you pour oil into the pot.'
6.	ála fáa légɛ ní awe, ála kɛ kírí tí ála ká tí goe -I55	'When they had crossed the road, they kept on returning over there to go on.'
7.	mɔ yí tí báa ndo, mɔ zía kpí -A8	'Just a little later, then you add the paste.'
8.	adé éré tí lo, lo yí da apɛ -F7	'He called his name, but he didn't answer.'

9.	só mbi sára kusára tí ní akɛ nzoní na ní tongasó -I39	'(He said), since I was working for him, it was all right with him.'
10.	mbi tɛnɛ, mbi gí kéké tí yɔ́rɔ da -A4o	'I said that I am looking for a stick to stick into it.'
11.	kɔ́li só atɛnɛ wále tí lo, lo lɛkɛ kóngbá tí ní fadesó -F4	'This man told his wife to prepare his things now.'
12.	na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi, mbéní dɔ́dɔ́ aɛkɛ -A9	'In my country, there is a certain dance.'
13.	nginza tí vɔ na yíngɔ́, mbi wara apɛ ngá -A44	'Neither do I have the money with which to buy salt.'

3.20. Tone

In addition to the tonal features which accompany non-terminal and terminal pause which were described above, there are a number of terminal contours which add some kind of meaning to a whole utterance. It is almost certain that there are more than it has been possible to describe this far.

1. Slow and long rising glide starting from the level of the final tone phoneme of the utterance (ex. 1-4). This contour marks interrogation where there is no interrogative word or, where there is an interrogative word, asks for a repetition of what has been said.
2. Falling-rising glide on the last syllable of an utterance (ex. 5-7). Men all seem to agree that this contour is used especially by women. It too marks questions, but it seems to me to suggest sarcasm or hypocritical politeness.
3. Rising-falling glide on the last syllable of an utterance (ex. 8-10). This too suggests a bit of sarcasm or disinterest with questions but insistence or repetition with statements.
4. A level of pitch higher than one normally expects for statements. Little more can be said about this intonational pattern, for it is known only in the question-greeting mɔ kɛ séngé 'How are you (lit. Are you all right)?' Contrasted with the statements mɔ kɛ séngé 'You are all

right' or lo kɛ séngé 'He is all right,' the absolute pitch of the high tones of séngé in the question are definitely higher than in the statement.

5. The absence of features which mark terminal pause (q.v. 3.11, points 4 and 5). This contour is posited to account for the difference between the following two non-verbal sentences:

tongasó ma. 'That's the way.'
tongasó ma? 'You mean that way?'

The only discernible difference between the question and the statement is that in the former there is an arresting of the pitch on the final syllable so that it does not fall off to lower levels as happens in the statement.

1. mbi túku mbéní na lo↑ -I9 'Shall I pour some for him?'
2. mɔ vɔ awe↑ -I9 'Did you buy some already?'
3. mbi sára tɛ́nɛ́ tí pɛ́mbɛ́ tí mbi só kóé da↑ -A9 'Shall I tell all about my teeth in it (i.e. the tape-recorder)?'
4. tɛ́nɛ́ tí terrain ní↑ -I55 'Do you mean about the airfield?'
5. lo sí lá wa só↘↗ 'Do tell, when did he arrive?'
6. ndá tí tiri ní akɛ yę só↘↗ 'Now what is the fight about?'
7. mɔ goe tí pɛtɛ gɔzɔ tí mɔ lá wa só↘↗ 'Dear, when are you going to crush your manioc?'
8. ká tí kátá ní amú awe↗↘ 'Has the sore on the chest healed?'
9. mɔ kpa mbéní zo sí mbi sára tɛ́nɛ́ na mɔ↗↘ 'Do you resemble someone that I should talk to you?'
10. yoró ti ngaánga tí ála só, azía da, fadé mɔ ngbá zo↗↘ 'This ngaánga fetish of theirs, if they put it there, will you remain a person?'

In addition to the four intonational contours already described there is at least one more which occurs with negated questions which adds the meaning 'is it not true that.....?' (This is probably not the only contour which is used with negated sentences, either statements or questions. Others appear to exist, but they have not yet been analyzed.) This contour occurs as a

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4. "tongana yɛ̧. mú na mbi bière. -I9	'What's up? Give me beer.'
5. mɔ ěrě ázo títɛnɛ ála gá atoto lo "na mɔ -A21	'You call people to come and mourn him for you.'
6. mɔ sukúla tɛ̌rɛ̌ ní "pɛ"pɛ -A8	'You don't wash it.'
7. lá tongasó í na ámbunzú, í "goe -I55	'With the sun about like this, the White Men and I went off.'

3.40. French influenced

What has been already said about Sango intonation is probably the "normal" pattern. Stress and rising glide are also characteristic of a minor type of speech, one which is not correlated with any indigenous ethnic group but rather with people who have worked with French-speaking Europeans. Among them a final stressed vowel with high-falling glide (marked here by ^) or a final rising contour like the question one (no. 1 above) is quite common. These features seem to have no contrastive or expressive function. Rather, they are imitative of certain intonational features of French.

1. Jésus abáa mbéní ngɔ́ óse na yángá tí ngú nî -R10	'Jesus saw two boats at the edge of the lake.'
2. ...sí lo tɛnɛ na lô, lo poussé ngɔ́ ní kété na lé tí ngû -R10	'...so he told him to push the boat out into the water a bit.'
3. kíríngó tí í lo só, tí bíngó gbánda lo sô -R10	'We've just arrived from casting nets.'

PART TWO: WORD CLASSES

Chapter 4

ADJUNCTIVES

The adjunctives are those words which, like English adjectives and adverbs, can enter in subordinate endocentric construction with another word. They might be said to "modify" nouns, verbs, and--in one case--another adjunctive. Although they resemble school-grammar adjectives and adverbs in function, it is probably ill-advised to so name them, because Sango adjunctives differ from each other not by morphological features but by syntactic distribution. Moreover, there is so much overlapping between the subclasses that a definite division between a class of adjectives and a class of adverbs at the moment is impossible. It must be said, however, that it is not at all unlikely that further work would help to make subclassifications in some respects considerably neater.

While class identification is of considerable interest from a structuralist's point of view, what is most important for the learner of the language is the place of occurrence of any one of these words. For example, since kóé 'all' can occur both as an adjunct of a noun (as an "adjective") and as an adjunct of a verb (as an "adverb"), it is quite easy to misunderstand its function in a verb phrase when it is preceded by a noun. For example, the final kóé 'all' in the following clause can be taken with pommes de terre to mean 'all the potatoes' or with the verb yɔ́rɔ to mean 'also fry': lá kóé mbi kɛ yɔ́rɔ na lo pommes de terre kóé. From the context (C31) one selects the latter sense, i.e. 'I'm always frying him potatoes too.'

The adjunctives are therefore taken as a class and then divided according to predominant positions of occurrence. They are called "ante-noun," "post-noun," "verbal," and "universal" adjunctives. These names are given as cover designations for ease of remembering their class membership. It would be less misleading, perhaps, but more accurate, to designate them as sub-class I, II, etc.

Some of the adjunctives can also function substantively. This feature does not lead to further subclassifications but is simply discussed in chp. 10.

The following charts summarize the distribution of adjunctives.

Tabulation of the places of occurrence of all adjunctives

Adjunctive	ante- noun	post- noun	verb	univ.
ánde	-	-	x	-
ándo	-	-	x	-
bíakú	-	-	x	-
bíaní	-	-	x	-
bingbá	x	-	-	-
búbá	x	-	-	-
da	-	-	x	-
fadé	-	-	x	-
fadesó	-	-	x	-
finí	x	-	-	-
gbá	-	-	x	-
gbándá	-	-	x	-
ge	-	-	x	-
gí	-	-	-	x
híɔ	-	-	x	-
ká	-	-	x	-
kété	x	x	x	-
kíríkiri	-	x	x	-
kóé	-	x	x	-
kótá	x	-	x	-
kózo	x	-	x	-
kpíngba	x	-	-	-
kpítíkpítí	-	-	x	-
kpó	-	-	x	-
mbakɔ́rɔ	x	-	-	-
mbéní	x	-	x	-
mbírímbírí	-	-	x	-
míngi	-	x	x	-
ndé	-	x	x	-
ndurú	x	-	x	-
ngá	-	x	x	-
ngangó	x	-	x	-
ngbéré	x	-	-	-
ngbii	-	-	x	-
ní	-	x	-	-
numerals	-	x	x	-
nzoní	x	-	x	-
ɔ́kɛ	-	x	x	-
ɔ́kɔ	-	x	x	-
pendere	x	-	x	-
séngé	x	x	x	-
sioní	x	-	x	-
só	-	x	-	-
taá	-	-	-	x
tár	-	-	x	-
tongasó	-	x	x	-
vɛní	-	x	-	x
vɔkɔ́	x	-	-	-
vurú	x	-	-	-
wa	-	x	-	-
yekeyeke	-	-	x	-
yę	-	x	-	-
yɔngɔ́rɔ	x	-	x	-

Tabulation of the categories of adjunctives, according to their places of occurrence. Those which may also be used as substantives are marked with an asterisk.

ante-noun	post-noun	verbal	universal
bíngbá	*ní	ánde	gí
*búbá	*só	ándo	taá
finí	wa	bíakú	
kpíngba	*yę	bíaní	
mbakɔ́rɔ		da	
ngbéré		fadé	
vɔkɔ́		fadesó	
vurú		gbá	
		gbándá	
		ge	
		híɔ	
		ká	
		kpítíkpítí	
		kpó	
		*mbírímbírí	
		ngbii	
		tár	
		yekeyeke	

ante-noun, verbal	ante-noun, post-noun,	post-noun, verbal	post-noun, universal
*kótá		kíríkiri	vɛní
*kózo	*kété	*kóé	
*mbéní	*séngé	*míngi	
ndurú		ndé	
*ngangó		ngá	
*nzoní		numerals	
*pendere		*ɔ́kɛ	
*sioní		*ɔ́kɔ	
yɔngɔ́rɔ		tongasó	

4.10. Ante-noun adjunctives

Ante-noun adjunctives(Aa) are distinguished by the fact that they generally stand in front of the noun they modify. Five of them, however, can also follow the noun (or perhaps only certain nouns) with no apparent change in meaning (viz. kếtế 'small,' kőtá 'large,' pendere 'young,' séngé 'unimportant,' vɔkɔ́ 'black.' While all of them can apparently function substantively when followed by the post-noun adjunctive ní, a few of them (marked with an asterisk below) can function substantively without this word. It is to be noted that three of these are already written with a final ni syllable. The reason is that there is no adjunctive with the form mbe, and sio and nzo occur only in the speech of those influenced by the missions. Historically, of course, one would have to relate the first syllables of mbé ngú 'the other side of the stream,' mbáge 'a side,' and mbéní 'some.' In fact, sioní 'bad' and nzoní 'good' act like the other adjunctives in being able to take the adjunctive ní. All of these adjunctives appear to follow the identificational verb ɛkɛ 'to be' or the copulatively-used verbs gá 'to come' and ngbá 'to remain' when they have the meanings 'to become' and 'to be' respectively. Moreover, a few of them (marked with ‡) can also modify verbs as adverbs would. The glosses indicate some of the resultant translation equivalents.

bingbá	'red, brown'	ngangő * ‡	'hard, terribly'
búbá *	'foolish'	ngbérế	'old'
finí	'new'	nzoní * ‡	'good, well'
kếtế * ‡	'small, a little'	pendere *	'young, nice'
kőtá *	'large'	séngé * ‡	'unimportant, useless'
kőzo * ‡	'first'	sioní * ‡	'bad, terribly'
kpíngba	'hard'	vurú *	'white'
mbakɔ́rɔ	'old'	vɔkɔ́	'black'
mbéní * ‡	'some, a certain, a little'	yɔngɔ́rɔ *	'long'
ndurú	'short, close'		

1.	lo kɛ bingbá yąma -F4	'It's a brownish animal.'
2.	mɔ búbá mérɛngé -L175	'You stupid child.'
3.	ázo só akɛ sára téné tí búbá -R3	'These people are saying things.'
4.	mɛ kɛ búbá míngi	'You're very stupid.'
5.	mbéní da agbí na finí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ -N79	'A hcuse burnt in the new village.'
6.	agá apíka li tí kété mérɛngé só -N79	'She came and hit this little girl's head.'
7.	mbi kpɔ na ákété kété yąma -A40	'I spear little animals with it.'
8.	mbi hínga français kété -I39	'I know French a little.'
9.	ála tɛ kété kété kété -A50	'They ate a very little bit.'
10.	angbá kété, ála poisonné mbi -N81	'A little more and they would have poisoned me.'
11.	í yí tí hǫ́ kété... -N79	'Having gone on just a little...'
12.	na pɛkɔ́ ní kété, wále tí babá tí lo akúí -L16	'A little later and his father's wife died.'
13.	mɔ mú na ála conseil kété sí -L168	'Give them a little advice.'
14.	babá tí mbi tí kété	'my uncle (i.e. father's younger brother)'
15.	ála sára kőtá wá da -A13	'They made a big fire there.'
16.	amú mbéní kőtá bɔngɔ́, bingbá bingbá, abi na sése -R2	'He took a big cloth, a red one, and cast it on the ground.'
17.	í sára ákőtá lége -R2	'We made large roads.'
18.	tongana mbi commencé gá kőtá kété kété awe ... -N81	'When I began to grow up a little....'
19.	lá kőtá-kőtá lá	'mid-day, noon'
20.	í girísa France na kőtá tí lo pɛpɛ -R2	'We don't forget the greatness of France.'
21.	kőzo yí ní	'the first thing'
22.	tɛnɛ na mbi kőzo(ní) -L3	'Tell me first.'
23.	kőzo ní kőé, mbi kɛ díkɔ éré tí ázo -R9b	'First of all I am going to read the names of the people.'

24. lo yɔ̨̂ kózo ní sí lo tɛ kpíngba kóbe -A42 'He drinks first then he eats hard food.'

25. mbéní mbakórɔ wále aɛkɛ -L186 'There was an old woman.'

26. ála kɛ sára na mbéní yí ndé -A13 'They used to make different things out of it.'

27. ála mú mbéní mɛ́rɛngɛ́ ɔ́kɔ -A9 'They take a child.'

28. ámbéní wále ahínga tí lɛkɛ yá tí da tí ála pɛpɛ -A8 'Some women don't know how to fix the interior of their houses.'

29. í fáa mbéní kótá yáká -R6 'We made a large garden.'

30. amú na í nginza mbéní pɛpɛ -R2 'He doesn't give us money any more.'

31. mbéní, lo kę tí sára ngiá na kɔ́li ní -L162 'Another one, she refuses to chat with her husband.'

32. ámbĕní avɔ kárákó -N78 'Some buy peanuts.

33. mɔ tɛnɛ ngá gí ndurú tɛ́nɛ́ -R1 'Say something short.'

34. mɔ gá ndurú na tɛ́rɛ́ tí da -C30 'Come close to the house.'

35. ála píka lo ngangó - 'They hit him hard.'

36. ngangó tí lo ade -L186 'He still has strength.'

37. lo lángó tí lo na ngbéré da -L27 'He's living in the old house.'

38. ála sára nzoní yí pɛpɛ -R2 'They don't do good things.'

39. só akɛ nzoní apɛ -R6 'That's not good.'

40. ála goe nzoní o - 'Goodbye (i.e. go well).'

41. asára kɔa ní nzoní apɛ -R3 'He didn't do the work well.'

42. nzoní, ála goe na Boali -R7d 'You ought to go to Boali.'

43. mɔ fa na ála lége tí nzoní -A49 'You show them the right way.'

44. mbi gá pendere kɔ́li na Rafai -I39 'I became an adolescent boy at Rafai.'

45. ázo tí pendere míngi -F7 'people of very good looks'

46. ála kɛ tí ála gí séngé zo -R10 'For their part, they were just ordinary people.'

47. gí ngunzá séngé sí lo tɔ́ só -A8 'Just plain manioc greens is what she cooks.'

48. amú nginza akɛ buba séngé séngé -A8 'He takes money and wastes it with no rhyme or reason.'

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49.	mbi hánda mɔ séngé -L175	'All I did was to deceive you.'
50.	fadé mɔ wara ngá kóé séngé -C31	'You'll get everything all right without any trouble.'
51.	mbéní sioní kobéla asára ámbéní zo ɔ́kɔ ɔ́kɔ -L7	'A certain bad disease is afflicting a few people.'
52.	apíka lo sioní	'He beat him terribly.'
53.	só akɛ kobéla tí sioní míngi -R4b	'That's a very bad disease.'
54.	ála báa tongana sioní -A49	'They look upon it as evil.'
55.	ngú (tí) vurú	'pus'
56.	tongana lo sí na yɔngɔ́rɔ lége... -L17	'When he had arrived at a remote road....'
57.	kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ ade yɔngɔ́rɔ míngi -L17	'The village is still a long way off.'

The following chart shows the order of occurrence of the adjunctives that modify nouns or other substantives.

ante-head 4	ante-head 3	ante-head 2	ante-head 1	HEAD	post-head 1	post-head 2	post-head 3	post-head 4	post-head 5
mbéní		mbéní	bingbá	nouns	kété				
míngi	á-		búbá		kíríkiri	ní	só	vɛní	kóé
finí			finí	mbéní	míngi				ngá
taá			kété*		ndé*				
gí			kótá*	pro-	numerals				
			kózo	nouns	ɔ́kɛ				
			kpíngba		ɔ́kɔ*				
			mbakɔ́rɔ		séngé				
			ndurú		tongasó				
			ngangó		vɔkɔ́				
			ngbéré		wa				
			nzoní		yę				
			pendere						
			séngé						
			sioní						
			vɔkɔ́						
			vurú						
			yɔngɔ́rɔ						
			French adjectives: même premier vieux vingt, etc.						

*Adjunctives marked by an asterisk may be reduplicated.

4.20. Post-noun adjunctives

Post-noun adjunctives (Ap) are distinguished by the fact that they generally stand behind the noun they modify. As with ante-noun adjunctives some of these too can function substantively and as verb modifiers (marked again with * and ǂ). Two of them (viz. ngá 'also' and tongasó 'thusly') also have the characteristic of being able to stand at the head of a clause in an introductory position (q.v. chp. 12). The latter word may be the result of adding só to another word, but since tonga otherwise does not occur alone (since it bears no meaning relationship to the connective tongana, q.v. 5.60), it is considered a single word and written as such. Special attention is given to ní, numerals, and só after which other examples are given. The complete list of Ap is the following:

kóé * ǂ	'all, completely'
míngi * ǂ	'much, many, very'
ndé ǂ	'different, differently'
ngá ǂ	'also'
ní *	'determinant'
numerals *	
ɔ́kɔ * ǂ	'one'
ɔ́kɛ *	'how many?'
só *	'this'
tongasó ǂ	'thus, thusly'
vɛní	'the very'
wa	'what?'
yę *	'what?'

4.21. ní is used both as a noun modifier and also as a pronoun. With nouns it serves as a determinant which is restrictive or anaphoric or both. As a pronoun its most common use is in indirect discourse. An enlarged discussion follows.

4.21.10. The restrictive function of ní depends on its being used to identify and single out a particular object. It is therefore in some respects similar to the English and French definite articles. The anaphoric function depends on its being used to refer to an object already mentioned in a discourse. These uses are not incompatible with the use of só 'this' which is deictic and demonstrative; both ní and só can occur with the same noun.

As a general description the preceding statement is valid, but it does not account for all the occurrences of ní, and neither does it account for its omission where one might expect it. Sometimes a newly introduced noun is followed by ní for no apparent reason (ex. 2). On the other hand, where one noun is referred to several times in a discourse, only some of its occurrences are with ní (ex. 5). Moreover, only the frequency of the use of mbɛ́ní + noun + ní is proof that the construction is standard, for one would not expect a construction with both the indefiniteness of mbɛ́ní and the specificity of ní, unless mbɛ́ní means 'a certain' as well as 'some.'

1. tongana ángaragɛ́ ní abáa yạma na ti tí ázo só, na ála tenɛ, mú na mbi yạma ní -A37
   'When the ngaragɛ́ see an animal in the hands of these people, they say, "Give me the animal."'

2. auto afáa mbɛ́ní mɛ́rɛngɛ́ ní ... mɛ́nɛ́ ní alíngbi na ndó tí lége apɛ -N79
   'An automobile had killed a child. ... The blood on the road was incredible.'

3. asára kɔ́tá wá da. na tɛ́mɛ́ só aeke tɛ́mɛ́ só wɛ̨ aeke na yá ní. na wɛ̨ ní aeke sí gígí. -A13
   'They make a huge fire there. And this stone is stone in which there is iron. And the iron comes out.'

4. mɔ zía kpí. mɔ mú kɔ́sɔ́. kpí ní aeke kɔ́sɔ́. -A8
   'You put sauce (in it). You take kɔ́sɔ́. The sauce is kɔ́sɔ́ sauce.'

5. tongana lo sí na yɔngɔ́rɔ lége, lo húnda mɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí lo, lo tenɛ, mɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí mbi. na mɛ́rɛngɛ́ ayí da. lo húnda lo, fadésó ɛkɛ na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ ndurú? na mɛ́rɛngɛ́ ní atenɛ na babá tí lo, babá, kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ ade yɔ́ngɔ́rɔ míngi. ... fadésó lo gbɔ́tɔ mɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí lo ní na yá gɛ́rɛ́ tí lo. -L17
   'When he had come to a remote road, he asked his child, he said, "My child." And the child answered. He (i.e. the father) asked him, "Are we now close to a village?" And the child said to his father, "Father, the village is still a long way off." ... Now he dragged his child between his legs.'

6.	kɔ́li tí íta tí mbi tí wále ní, lo goe tí píka dole, sí lo píka mbéní kɔ́li dole ní, amú lo afáa lo -L6	'The husband of my sister, he went to hunt elephants, and he shot an elephant, and it took him and killed him.'

While the use of ní as a restrictive or anaphoric determinant with most nouns is to some extent determined by the will of the speaker, its occurrence with other words is apparently determined linguistically. (a) There are several nouns which have to do with time, place, or reason (i.e. circumstantial nouns) which take ní when they are followed by no other complements (ex. 7-23). (b) Unless the -ngó verbal nouns have some kind of complement (q.v. 6.30), they very often take ní (ex. 24-29). (c) Certain adjunctives, when they are used substantively, sometimes take ní (q.v. 10.30).

ní with circumstantial nouns:

7.	mɔ túku na ndó bé ní -A8	'You pour it on top.'
8.	mbéní kóbe ti yɔ́rɔ na gbɛ́ ní aɛkɛ apɛ -A44	'There is no food to put underneath (i.e. to mix with it).'
9.	mɔ mú mbanu, mɔ gá na gbɛ́ ní -A29	'You take the cross-bow, you come up underneath.'
10.	ázo awara ngiá na lá ní míngi -L27	'People were very happy on that day.'
11.	wángó só, lá ní mɔ mú só, anzɛrɛ na mbi míngi -R4d	'The advice you gave on that day pleased me a great deal.'
12.	mbi tambéla na li ní -R2	'I walked on top of it.'
13.	na ndá ní, ála mú mbéní átɛ́mɛ́ -A13	'After that, they take some stones.'
14.	ndá ní sí mbi húnda na mɔ -L168	'That's why I ask you.'
15.	fadesó mbi má ndá ní awe -L27	'Now I've heard the whole thing.'
16.	atúku na ndó ní -A8	'Pour it on top.'
17.	kóngbá tí mbunzú ahɔ́ ndó ní -I55	'The White Men's baggage was heavier than anything.'
18.	bale ɔ́kɔ na ndó ní ɔ́kɔ	'eleven'

19.	lo yɛ̨́ ngú na pɛkɔ́ ní -A11	'He drank water after it.'
20.	lo gá na pɛkɔ́ ní -F7	'He came later.'
21.	ála gá na tɛ́rɛ́ ní míngi míngi -A48	'They came to it in great numbers.'
22.	lo zía ngú na yá ní -A15	'She puts water in it.'
23.	wɛ̨́ aɛkɛ na yá ní -A13	'Iron is in it.'

ní with nominalized verbs

24.	mɔ kɛ na tɛ́nɛ́ tí tɛ́nɛ́ngó ní míngi -R4c	'You have a lot of things to say.'
25.	tongana mbi wara yí tí tɛ́ngó ní -A40	'When I find something to eat...'
26.	mbi hínga tí sárángó ní na [illegible]o ngá -I39	'I know how to do it in Sango also.'
27.	tongana mɔ yí tí vɔ́ngó ní -C30	'When you want to buy...'
28.	ngérɛ́ ní akɛ wɔ́kɔ́ngó ní kétɛ́ -R7d	'The price is somewhat low.'
29.	kíríngó ní na Bangui só aɛkɛ ngangó míngi -N35	'Returning to Bangui here was difficult.'

As for the position of ní in a noun phrase, it is very clear that other adjunctives only follow it (ex. 30-36) and that when a noun is modified by a phrase introduced by tí (q.v. 10.12) ní always comes at the end of the phrase whether it modifies the head or attributive noun (ex. 37-44). The one example of an "included" ní is not enough to admit an equally valid alternative.

ní followed by other adjunctives:

30.	mɔ wara pendere bɔngɔ́ ní só na ndo wa -C31	'Where did you get this nice dress?'
31.	ála kɛ tɛnɛ tɛ́nɛ́ ní só gí na yángá séngé séngé -R2	'They are saying these things just with the mouth (i.e. there is no truth in what they say).'
32.	ámɛ́rɛngɛ́ ní ká, ála kɛ na yoró -N81	'The young people over there, they have charms.'

33. gí kɔ́li ní vɛní asúru -L15 'It was just the husband himself who tore up (the paper).'

34. ála to mbɛ́tí ní kóé gí na direction só -R7e 'Send all the letters just to the head office.'

35. lo kamáta mbéní bordelle ní ɔ́kɔ na ndó tí wále tí lo -L15 'He took a prostitute in addition to his wife.'

36. mɔ kɛ na nginza ní míngi -I9 'You have a lot of money.'

ní following tí phrases:

37. ámbunzú tí Bangui ní, ála gá mú na mbi nginza -I55 'The White Men from Bangui came and gave me money.'

38. kété íta tí lo só amú lége akírí. na íta tí lo ní akírí atenɛ na lo -N79 'This younger sister of hers took to the road and returned. And her sister (i.e. the one indicated by the possessed form) said to her.'

39. bata ngá kóbe tí mɔ ní -C30 'Keep your food.'

40. wále tí lo ní ayí mbi pɛpɛ -N81 'His wife did not like me.'

41. éré tí dɔ́dɔ́ ní laá -A21 'That's the name of the dance.'

42. lo zía kété kété íta tí mbi ɔ́kɔ na yá tí da ní -N81 'He put one of my little sisters in the house.'

43. ála mú yoró tí kobéla ní -R4b 'They took medicine for the sickness.'

44. bilharzie ní tí wále akɛ sɔ ála -R4a 'The liver-fluke disease of women hurts them.'

4.21.20. When ní is used pronominally its referents are either animate or inanimate. Pronominal reference to inanimate objects is practically unknown except after the connective (ex. 1-7). Outside of the light-hearted or somewhat humorous reference to inanimate objects with the pronoun lo (q.v. 7.14), pronouns are avoided after the connective tí and after verbs. (The subject-marker a- is not really a pronoun even though it can stand for either an inanimate or animate subject. See 7.20) However, as a result of the influence of the French language among bilinguals, ní is sometimes used as an object of a verb (ex. 8-11). The only examples occur in the speech of bilinguals. In their speech too are a few post-verb occurrences which do not seem to have any function whatsoever (ex. 12-13).

ní with the connective na:

1.	ála mú kɔ́á tí mɛ́rɛngɛ́ ní, ála goe na ní -L17	'They took the corpse of the child and they went off with it.'
2.	mbéní omba tí mbi laá amú mbi, sí agoe na ní -A21	'One of my aunts took me with her.' [ní refers to mbi 'me.']
3.	gí vin só mɔ bata na ní só vɛní mɔ kɛ tɔ́ na ní -R9a	'It's only the wine in which you have kept it (i.e. the kidneys) that you cook it with.'
4.	zo tí gíngó yoró na mbi, sí mbi soigné na ní aɛkɛ pɛpɛ -L186	'There's no one to look for medicine for me to treat myself with it.'
5.	mɔ kpaka tɛ́rɛ́ tí mbi na ní -F7	'Scratch my body with it (i.e. the bark).'
6.	tongana mbi wara gɔzɔ ngá, mbi sára na ní, mbi tɛ -A40	'When I find manioc also, I prepare it with it (i.e. the knife), and I eat it.'
7.	ála kpo lo bíaní bíaní, lo kúí na ní -A50	'They spear it completely and it dies from them (i.e. the wounds).'

ní with inanimate referents:

8.	ɟá tí mbi asúku, akɔnɔ tongana ballon, sí ála pompé ní -N81	'My abdomen swelled up and became as big as a balloon, as if they had pumped it.'
9.	í língbi títɛnɛ í báa éré tí ála híɔ, tí díkɔ ní -R9b	'We can see your names right away to read them.'
10.	kɔa kóɛ́, fadɛ́ ála kpé ní pɛpɛ -R10	'They will not be afraid of all kinds of work.'
11.	mɔ mú rognon só mɔ préparé ní na vin -R9a	'You take the kidneys which you have prepared with wine.'
12.	lo tí ní na kutukutu ká -R2	'He fell from a car over there.'

13.	mbi báa ní kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí Côte-d'Azur -R2	'I saw the city of Côte-d'Azur.' [translation of: 'J'ai eu à visiter la Côte-d'Azur.']

When standing for animate objects ní is also used pronominally in indirect discourse (ex. 14-19) and in direct discourse to avoid ambiguity (ex. 20). When it occurs as subject of a verb, its tone is very often low, but in this grammar it will be written only with high tone. In indirect discourse, whether the subject is third person singular or plural (and much more rarely second person singular or plural), ní occurs wherever a pronoun would ordinarily occur. This use of ní is, however, not obligatory, and one will often find the ordinary pronouns in indirect discourse. It should also be added that some speakers use í for ní under this circumstance. It is, however, not very common.

ní in indirect discourse:

14.	wále só atenɛ, ní ɛkɛ na mbéní ɔ́kɔ na yá tí da tí ní -R9b	'This woman said, "I have one child in my house."'
15.	lo tenɛ, depuis mamá tí ní adṹ ní só, ní de ní báa yạma tí sése agbó kámba na ndṹzṹ pɛpɛ -L175	'He said, "Since the time my mother bore me, I haven't seen a terrestrial animal trapped in the sky."'
16.	lo tenɛ, fadesó wále tí ní akṹí, ní báa ndo pɛpɛ -L17	'He said, "My wife is now dead, and I can't see."'
17.	tɛrɛ atenɛ na lo, mɔ língbi tí píka ní? -L175	'The spider said to him, "Can you hit me?"'
18.	kɔ́li só atenɛ na wále tí lo, lo lɛkɛ kóngbá tí ní fadesó -F4	'This man said to his wife that she should get his things together now.'
19.	tɛrɛ atenɛ na lo, lo mú na ní mbo tí ní -F4	'Spider told him to give him (i.e. the spider) his (i.e. spider's) dog.'
20.	mbéní kɔ́li tí Banana afáa mamá tí lo. lo fáa mɛ tí mamá tí ní. -L17	'A man from Banana killed his mother. He cut off her breasts.'

There is one use of ní where its referent is completely generalized in much the same way as English 'that' in 'That's fine.' This is its use with laá (q.v. 8.13).

4.22. The numerals are used very much like the other adjunctives of this class, and whereas they can be used substantively, this use is uncommon. After a general discussion of the equivalents for English and French numerals, the peculiar uses of numerals with money and of the number 'one' are described.

Beyond the number 9 the Sango system of counting is decimal. Larger numbers are constructed syntactically.

1	ɔ́kɔ
2	óse
3	otá
4	osió
5	ukú
6	omaná
7	mbásámbárá
8	miombe
9	ngombáyá
10	bale ɔ́kɔ (i.e. 1 unit of ten)
20	bale óse (i.e. 2 units of ten)
11	bale ɔ́kɔ na (ndó ní) ɔ́kɔ (i.e. 'ten and on top of it one')
21	bale óse na (ndó ní) ɔ́kɔ
100	ngbangbu (ɔ́kɔ)
1000	ngbangu bale ɔ́kɔ (i.e. 100 x 10) or kutu
2000	ngbangbu bale óse (i.e. 100 x 20)
1031	ngbangbu bale ɔ́kɔ na ndó ní bale otá na ɔ́kɔ

Different conventions are used in counting money. The more acquaintance one has with French, the more one uses French numbers in counting money. But the system used most commonly is based on the páta which is a unit to designate five francs. Ten francs is therefore referred to by páta óse 'two pata's.' One thousand francs is referred to either by sáki (from French 'sac') ɔ́kɔ or páta ngbangu óse (i.e. unit of 5, 200 times). When a figure is not divisible by five, one adds the phrase franc (pronounced most commonly faránga) ɔ́kɔ, etc. Prices for the general public are adjusted to the nearest páta, but banks and large commercial enterprises naturally figure on the franc.

25f	páta ukú
335f	páta bale omaná na ndó ní mbásámbára (i.e. 67 páta's)
1.565f	sáki ɔ́kɔ na (páta) ngbangbu ɔ́kɔ na ndó ní bale ɔ́kɔ na otá
1.566	sáki ɔ́kɔ na (páta) ngbangu ɔ́kɔ na ndó ní bale ɔ́kɔ na otá na faránga ɔ́kɔ

Some of these constructions are obviously rather unwieldy but they are by no means uncommon.

The number ɔ́kɔ 'one' is used in several idiomatic ways which need special attention. With the negative marker pɛpɛ (q.v. 8.12) it takes on the meaning 'not at all, absolutely not' (ex. 1-4). In some constructions it means 'just' or 'alone' or 'together' (ex. 5-6). Finally, there are expressions like lá ɔ́kɔ 'one day' (in the sense of 'on one occasion'), and lége ɔ́kɔ 'in the same way, together,' etc. (ex. 7-9).

1.	yángá tí mbi akɛ da ɔ́kɔ pɛpɛ -I9	'I'm having nothing to do with that.'
2.	tɔ́rɔ́ ní aɛkɛ na yá tí ngonda ɔ́kɔ pɛpɛ -A48	'There are absolutely no ghosts in the bush.'
3.	yí tí sɔ í ɔ́kɔ akɛ pɛpɛ -R6	'There's not one thing to hurt us.'
4.	zo tí píka mbi ɔ́kɔ akɛ pɛpɛ -R6	'There's no one to hit me.'
5.	mbi húnda gí Nzapá ɔ́kɔ -N35	'I'm praying just to God.'
6.	í tɛ kóbe ɔ́kɔ -R2	'We eat together.'
7.	mbéní lá ɔ́kɔ lé tí lo óse kóé aɛkɛ sɔ lo -L186	'One day his two eyes hurt him.'
8.	áBanda na áNzakara, ála kɛ lége ɔ́kɔ -I39	'The Banda and the Nzakara are the same.'
9.	í bóngbi na ála lége ɔ́kɔ -R2	'We met with them.'
10.	da ní agbí da ukú -N79	'Five house burned there.'
11.	ámbéní wále sí akɛ na tɛ́rɛ́ tí lo óse -R4a	'He has two wives.'

12. mbɛ́ní sioní kobɛ́la asára ámbɛ́ní zo ɔ́kɔ ɔ́kɔ -L7 'A certain bad disease is afflicting a few people.'

13. lo zía kétɛ́ kétɛ́ íta tí mbi ɔ́kɔ na yá tí da ní -N81 'He put my little sister in the house.'

14. mbi báa gí mérɛngɛ́ tí kɔ́li ɔ́kɔ -R96 'I saw just one boy.'

15. mɔ ɔ́kɔ laá mɔ kɛ yɔ̧? -I9 'You're going to drink it alone?'

16. lo goe, lo ɔ́kɔ, na li tí hɔ́tɔ́ -R10 'He went alone to the top of the mountain.'

4.23. The adjunctive só, whose function is that of a deictic with the meaning of 'this,' has several other specific uses. It occurs as the head of certain substantive constructions which are conveniently called "relative" (and which function subjectivally, objectivally, and as complements). It can also function pronominally and as a "filler" following certain connectives. By itself, or in the noun phrase yí só 'this thing,' it marks a certain kind of subordinate clause (q.v. 15.21.12b). Finally, it occurs at the end of clauses in a very idiomatic way.

4.23.10. Because só is used in constructions which are easily translated by an English clause with a relative pronoun, it is convenient to talk about the "relative" use of this adjunctive. It would be wrong, however, to equate só with English or French relative pronouns. Such an error would certainly lead to incorrect uses of só. (Instances of the interference of French relative pronouns in the speech of bilingual Centralafricans are noted below.)

The relative use of só is nothing more than a substantive construction which is followed by a modifying clause. The word só is to be construed as belonging to the substantive phrase, from which it is rarely separated by pause in any case, except where French seems to be interfering. E.g.

zo só ahínga mbɛ́tí 'whoever knows how to read'
'person this knows paper'

In isolation this construction would mean 'this person knows how to read,' but the context would determine whether such a construction were a clause in its own right or whether it were simply a substantive phrase. E.g.

mbi hínga mbéní zo só ahínga mbɛ́ti	'I know someone who knows how to read.'

The relative construction can have one of several relationships to the following clause.

In subjectival relationship (ex. 1-10) relative constructions are usually followed by a verb with the subject-marker prefix (q.v. 7.20), but occasionally a pronoun occurs as subject.

In objectival relationship (ex. 11-16), they can be construed as occurring alternatively in a similar simple clause. Thus, the relative construction yąma só mbi fáa 'the animal which I killed' can be related to mbi fáa yąma só 'I killed this animal.' Usually the noun head is close to the following clause, but if the noun is in a verb phrase itself, it may be separated from the following clause by other verb phrase elements (ex. 16).

The remaining group of occurrences consists of miscellaneous constructions which do not seem to fit into the other two groups, and which may be called complementary or circumstantial (ex. 17-26).

1.	yɛ́ ɔ́kɔ só afúti mɛ́ tí mbi -L27	'the one thing which interfered with my hearing'
2.	ámbéní wále só amú kɔ́li -L162	'some women who had taken husbands (i.e. been married)'
3.	zo só ayí tí fáa mbi -R3	'the person who wants to kill me'
4.	í fáa mbéní kɔ́tá yáká só ahɔ̨́ ndó ní -R6	'We made a garden which was really big.'
5.	ála só agá retard -L27	'those who came late'
6.	mbéní só akpíngba -R96	'some which have become hard'
7.	Pierre só akɛ secrétaire -R1	'Pierre who is secretary'
8.	mbi só, mbi kɛ mará tí Zande -I39	'I who am of the Zande tribe'
9.	íta tí mbi só lo kɛ...	'my brother who is...'
10.	pɛ́mbɛ́ tí mbi só í báa a-manqué só -A9	'my teeth which you see are missing'

11.	kusára tí lo só lo éré mbi ngbanga ní tí sára -L11	'his work which he called me to do'
12.	kóbe só zo atɛ -L27	'food which a person eats'
13.	yí tí mɔ só mɔ sára kété amú kaméla na mbi míngi -C31	'The little thing you did made me very much ashamed.'
14.	vin só mɔ bata na ní só -R9a	'the wine in which you kept it'
15.	yáká só i sára só -R6	'the garden which we made'
16.	mbi yí ti fa yí ndé ndé na mɔ só mɔ húnda mbi da -L2	'I want to show you all the different things about which you asked me.'
17.	ní ɛkɛ na kobéla só éré ní bilharzie -R4a	'(He said) he had a disease which was called liver-fluke disease.'
18.	mbéní ngambe tí mbi só éré tí lo aɛkɛ... -L7	'one of my younger siblings whose name is...'
19.	zo só bɛ́ tí lo ayí, lo gá -A21	'The person who wants to, let him come.'
20.	na pɛkɔ́ tí mɔ só mɔ goe -L11	'after you left'
21.	mɔ ɛkɛ súku na lo ngbanga-tí tambéla só lo ɛkɛ fatigué na pɛkɔ́ tí mɔ -A49	'You scold him because he tired himself in following you.'
22.	mbéní tɛ́nɛ́ aɛkɛ só mbi hínga li tí mbi da pɛpɛ -L162	'a certain matter which I can't understand'
23.	ndo só Nzapá afa na lo tí goe da -A49	'the place to which God instructed him to go'
24.	tɛ́mɛ́ só wɛ̨́ aɛkɛ na yá ní -A13	'stone in which there is iron'
25.	l'heure só mbi de kété kété, babá tí mbi agoe... -N81	'When I was still very young, my father went...'
26.	na lá ní só mbi goe na ní -N81	'at the time when I went with him'

4.23.20. The adjunctive só is used pronominally but most commonly only in subjectival position. It can function as the subject of verbs (ex. 1-2) or as the topic of verbless clauses (ex. 3-6). With this function it has little more meaning than the ubiquitous 'this' or 'that' of English (e.g. 'That's good'). In other positions, where it occurs much less commonly, its meaning may be more specifically 'this.' In any case, the reference of só is almost exclusively to inanimate objects. A special use of só following certain connectives is taken up immediately.

1. só aɛkɛ kusára tí wále laá -A15 'That's the work of women.'
2. só amú vundú na mbi míngi -L4 'That gives me a great deal of grief.'
3. só séngé -C31 'That's all right.'
4. só tongana yę -R4a 'How's that!'
5. só yę só? -C31 'What's that?'
6. só kóbe tí yáká sí aɛkɛ na aú só? -F4 'Is that garden food which Uncle has?'
7. só, mbi yí apɛ -R6 'That, I don't want.'
8. só vɛní sí í kę -R2 'That's precisely what we reject.'
9. lége tí só angórɔ... -I55 'that particular road wound around...'
10. akɛ só? -I9 'Is it this?'
11. mbi wara só mɔ sára -L27 'I received the one you did...'
12. mbi hínga tí mbi só ɔ́kɔ pɛpɛ -R1 'For my part, I didn't know that at all.'
13. mbi yí só pɛpɛ -R6 'I don't like that.'

4.23.30. The adjunctive só is used pronominally as a meaningless filler following certain certain connectives when these are followed by clauses. The same constructions can occur equally well without só. These connectives are ngbangatí, tɛnɛtí, and tongana (q.v. 5.40 and 5.80). In these constructions só is very often followed by a pause but without a rising glide.

1. í wara nginza ngbangatí só í lɛkɛ terrain -I55 'We received money because we prepared the airfield.'
2. lo húnda í ngbangatí só mbéní yí akɛ sɔ bɛ́ tí lo míngi -R4a 'He asked us because something was troubling him greatly.'
3. mbi sára yí só ngbangatí só mbi kɛ zo vɔkɔ́ -R1 'I do this because I am a Black Man.'
4. lo goe zía ála na kánga tɛnɛtí só zo akúí -L6 'He went and put them in prison because people had died.'

5.	mbi díkɔ Nzapá da tɛnɛtí só afúti lá kóé -L6	'I pray to God about it because they (i.e. the foetus) always die (i.e. mother has abortions).'
6.	mbi yí ála kóé agoe tí voté tongana só ála voté kózo ní -R3	'I want you all to go to vote just as you voted before.'

4.23.40. Another special use of só, whether or not it be similar to the relative construction, is that which introduces a dependent clause (q.v. 15.21.126) in protasis. In this position só does not have any syntactic relation to the clause which immediately follows it, in which respect it differs from the relative constructions. It is rather certain that the word here in question is in fact the adjunctive, because it can be replaced by the noun phrase yí só 'this thing' with exactly the same meaning. The occurrence of só in this construction adds the meaning 'since, in view of the fact that' to the clause.

One example (ex. 6) leads one to conclude that the protasis alone can be used in an exclamatory sentence. However, not enough constructions of this type have been collected to permit more specific observations.

1.	só mbi sára kusára tí ní, akɛ nzoní na ní tongasó -I39	'(He said) that since I worked for him, it was all right with him like this.'
2.	só mɔ kɛ goe tí sí na Bangassou, ála kɛ fa tɛ́nɛ́ ká na yángá tí Zande -I39	'If you were to go as far as Bangassou, (you would find that) they preach there in the Zande language.'
3.	só mɔ tɛnɛ awe, fadé í kírí í bi gbánda ní -R10	'Since you've spoken, we'll go back and cast the nets.'
4.	só babá tí mbi adú mbi, aéré tongasó	'Since my father gave birth to me, people call (me) this.'
5.	só ndo avɔkɔ́ awe, lo goe na kɔ́li só -F4	'When it has become night, she goes with this man.'
6.	ka só lo hínga mbɛ́tí pɛpɛ so -R1	'But what about the fact that he doesn't know how to read!'

4.23.50. The adjunctive só occurs also at the end of a clause where it neither functions as a substantive nor as a noun adjunct. In this position, it is very often found to be preceded by a relative construction (ex. 1-5). This use of só might be described as tying a whole construction together, a feature of African languages which has already been noted by others. When there is no preceding relative construction, it becomes more difficult to identify the function of só. In most cases it has no easily identified lexical meaning in this position, but sometimes it seems to mean something like 'here.' Perhaps some clause-final occurrences of só are reduced forms of na ndo só 'here, in this place,' but certainly not all of them. Other final occurrences are seen to occur in constructions with laá (q.v. 8.13, ex. 8, 9, 13, 17-20).

1.	á-famille só ahé mbi só, mbi yí ála pepɛ -N35	'Relatives who make fun of me, I don't like them.'
2.	báa ásioní yí só akɛ passé na yá tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ kóé só -I41	'See the bad things which are taking place in all the towns.'
3.	mɛ́rɛ́ngɛ́ wále só lé tí lo ambɔ́kɔ awe só, lo gá -F7	'The girl whose face was ulcerated, she came.'
4.	ála má wángó só á-médecin akɛ mú na ála só -R4c	'Listen to the advice the doctors give to you.'
5.	lo báa ásusu só ála gbó míngi míngi só -R10	'He saw the fish which they caught in such great quantity.'
6.	tɛ́nɛ́ só Mamadu akɛ tɛnɛ só aɛkɛ vɛnɛ pepɛ -R1	'What Mamadu is saying is not a lie.'
7.	lo vɛní sí lo píka lettre só na machine na mbi só -L27	'He typed this letter on a typewriter for me.'
8.	aɛkɛ kusára ti Nzapá laá sí mbi ngbá tí hú pɔnɔ́ da só -A44	'It's because of God's work that I am suffering as you see.'
9.	ní laá sí ála wara nginza pepɛ só -L1	'That's why they didn't get any money.'
10.	só kóbe tí yáká sí aɛkɛ na aú só? -F4	'Is that garden food which Uncle has there?'

11. só yę só? -C31 'What's this?'
12. torgana yę só -I9 'What's the trouble?'
13. tɛ́nɛ́ tí mbi ní laá só -R2 'That's my speech (i.e. that's what I have to say).'
14. mɔ fa só gí tɛ́rɛ́ séngé -C31 'You're just showing off.'
15. lo kɛ hánda só mbi -C31 'He's deceiving me.'
16. gí ngunzá séngé sí lo tɔ́ só -A8 'It's just manioc greens which she prepares.'
17. ní laá sí mbi pensé bɛ́ tí mbi na ákusára tí mbi sí mbi ɛkɛ toto só -L136 'That's why I thought about my work and am crying here.'
18. gí tɛ́nɛ́ ní laá awe só -R4b 'That's all there is to the affair.'
19. kɔ́li tí mɔ laá avɔ só -I9 'It was your husband who bought it.'
20. ní laá mbi ngbá tí dutí só -A44 'That's why I continue sitting here.'

4.24. The adjunctive wa 'what?' is used almost exclusively in the locutions for 'who?' (i.e. zo wa 'what person?'), 'where?' (i.e. ndo wa 'what place?') and 'when?' (i.e. lá wa 'what day?'). Replacing wa by yę does not appear to change the meaning, but such constructions with yę are rarely heard. One other use of wa is in só wa 'what thing?' which occurs only following a sentence in which só has been used, such as mú na mbi yí só 'give me that thing.'

1. lo kɛ gá lá wa 'When is he coming?'
2. mɔ hínga tí mɔ lá wa 'The hell you know it!'
3. mɔ wara pendere bongɔ́ só na ndo wa -C31 'Where did you get this pretty cloth?'
4. mérɛngɛ́ só akɛ zo wa -R9b 'Who is this child?'
5. zo wa sí amú na mbi wa -L186 'Who gave it to me?'

4.25. Both yę and wa, which have the meaning 'what?' occur as adjunctives of substantives, but because yę can also occur substantively, it has far greater syntactic freedom. It is by this fact also more frequent statistically. Many of its occurrences are accounted for by two common locutions in which it occurs: ngbangatí yę or tɛnɛtí yę́ 'why?'

and tongana yę 'how?' (The first words of these locutions are connectives described in 5.41, 5.42 and 5.80). The last expression is more than a simple interrogative of manner. While in some contexts it does signify means or manner, only some English sentences with 'how?' can be translated with tongana yę. Another lexical characteristic of this expression is that it can also express doubt or disbelief on the part of the speaker. One other feature of yę is that when it is used following a list of things, it takes on the meaning of 'anything, et cetera.'

1. yę asɔ mɔ -L186 — 'What's hurting you?'
2. mɔ tɛnɛ yę -R1 — 'What did you say?'
3. mɔ kɛ píka na yá tí yę -R9b — 'What do you pound (things) in?'
4. pási tí yę sí mbi ɛkɛ báa só -L186 — 'What suffering am I seeing?'
5. mɔ vɔ míngi míngi tongasó tí sára na yę -L168 — 'You buy a lot (of stamps) like this to do what (with them)?'
6. tí mɔ yę -I9 — 'What's yours (i.e. What do you want)?'
7. só yę só -C31 — 'What's this here?'
8. ángunzá, ágozɔ, yę. kóé aɛkɛ. só kóé kóbe tí yáká. -R9b — 'Manioc greens, manioc, anything. All these exist. All of this is garden food.'
9. tongana yę só -I9 — 'What's the trouble here?'
10. fadé ála sára tongana yę -R6 — 'What in the world will they do?'
11. mɔ gá citoyen tongana yę -R6 — 'How do you become a citizen?'
12. mɔ kɛ tambéla tongana yę sí bɔngó tí mɔ atoto -N80 — 'How do you walk that your dress makes noise?'
13. mɔ tɛnɛ akɛ tí mɔ tongana yę -C29 — 'What you mean by saying it's yours?'
14. mɔ dé éré tí lo ngbangatí yę -F7 — 'Why do you call his name?'

4.26. Examples of the remaining post-noun adjunctives follow here. They are chosen to illustrate the greatest diversity of use for each one of the adjunctives.

kóé 'all'

1.	yí kóé agá sioní awe -A15	'Everything has turned out bad.'
2.	áwále só kóé agá -F7	'All those women came.'
3.	Sango kóé mbi má -N35	'I understand Sango also.'
4.	lé tí lo kóé ambɔ́kɔ awe -F7	'Her face was completely ulcerated.'
5.	ála só kóé alóndó -F7	'All of them arose.'
6.	lo kóé lo ɛkɛ goe -A49	'He too is going.'
7.	ála sambéla kéké, na tɛ́mɛ́, na péré, na nzɛ kóé, na lá, yí kóé -A15	'They prayed to trees, and rocks, and grass, the moon also, and the sun, everything.'
8.	mɔ fáa yá tí oignon tí mɔ kóé -A8	'Cut up all of your onions.'
9.	lo zía yąma só kóé da -L175	'He put all of this meat there.'
10.	ála hínga ngá lo kóé só -R7f	'You know him all right.'
11.	ndo avɔkɔ́ na ála kóé -A51	'Night came upon them completely.'
12.	mɔ báa ándo wále tí mbi kóé pɛpɛ? -R1	'You've seen my wife before all right, haven't you?'
13.	li tí ála agá kóé bale ɔ́kɔ -R10	'All of them were ten in number.'
14.	ála mú mbi kóé ma -L171	'Take me too!'
15.	yáká tí mbi akánga kóé awe -N35	'My garden is all choked up.'
16.	mɔ píka yá ní ngbii kóé -A8	'You crush the insides a long time.'
17.	awe kóé	'It's all over.'
18.	nzó aɛkɛ. kárákó aɛkɛ. sindi aɛkɛ. mbi língbi díkɔ ahúnzi pɛpɛ. ángunzá, ágɔzɔ yę. kóé aɛkɛ. só kóé kóbe tí yáká. -R9b	'There's corn. There are peanuts. There's sesame. I can't finish naming everything. Manioc greens, manioc. There are all these things. All of this is garden food.'

míngi 'much, many, very'

19. ábákoyá míngi aɛkɛ fúti kôbe ní -F4 'Many baboons are ruining the harvest.'

20. áwále míngi akɛ hɔ̨́ -F7 'A lot of women are going by.'

21. li tí ála míngi -R3 'They were numerous.'

22. áwále kóê asára kôbe míngi míngi -F7 'All the women made a lot of food.'

23. ála wara kúí da míngi -A48 'Many of them found death there.'

24. ázo awara ngiá na lá ní míngi -L27 'People found a great deal of pleasure on that day.'

25. yáká tí kôbe akɛ míngi -R9b 'There are many food gardens.'

26. ngunzá ní anzerɛ míngi -A11 'The manioc greens taste very good.'

27. kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ ayɔ míngi -L17 'The village is a long way off.'

28. mbi bara mɔ míngi -L5 'I greet you warmly.'

29. mbi *de mêrɛngɛ̂ míngi apɛ?* -I55 '*Wasn't I still a very young child?*'

30. amú nzoní yí na í míngi -R2 'He gave us many good things.'

31. anzerɛ na bɛ́ tí ála míngi -A48 'It pleased them very much.'

32. ábákoyá así gígí míngi na yáká ní -F4 'A lot of baboons came into the garden.'

33. áyí tí vundú atí na ndó mbi na pɛkɔ́ ní míngi -L7 'Many misfortunes descended on me after that.'

34. tênɛ́ tí mbi aɛkɛ míngi pɛpɛ -A42 'I don't have much to say.'

35. kárákó ní alê nzoní míngi -A11 'The peanuts have borne very well.'

ndê 'different'

36. lé tí kôbe ndê ndê aɛkɛ -F4 'There are different kinds of fruit.'

37. amú na mbéní zo ndê -R3 'He gave it to a different person.'

38. mbi sára mbéní kɔa ndê apɛ -I9 'I haven't done a different kind of work.'

39. á-pont afúti na sése tí Bangui ndé ndé -L7 'Many different bridges were ruined in the region of Bangui.'

40. tí í akɛ ndo só ndé -I55 'Ours are different here.'

41. lo sára tí lo ndé 'He does it differently.'

ngá 'also'

42. lángó ní ngá laá í fa na ála -R7d 'There, we've shown you the dates.'

43. áwále tí lo ngá ayɔ̨ -L6 'His wives also drank it.'

44. tɛrɛ ngá lo fáa yáká awe -F4 'The spider also had made a garden.'

45. mɔ hínga ngá mbɛ́tí mbirímbirí -R7e 'You also know how to read well.'

46. mbi wara ngá mbéní mbɛ́tí ge -R7f 'I have also received a letter here.'

47. babá tí mɛ́rɛngɛ́ ní akúí ngá -L17. 'The child's father also died.'

48. ákɔ́li aekɛ na mbáge óse tí tɛ́ tí ála ngá -A8 'There were men on both sides to eat their share.'

49. mbi ngá, mbi kɛ̨ apɛ -C30 'Me too, I don't refuse.'

50. na ngá, mbi tɛnɛ merci míngi -A15 'And also, I give many thanks.'

ɔ́kɛ 'how much? how many?'

51. ázo ɔ́kɛ ayí tí gá 'How many people want to come?'

52. ála ɛkɛ ɔ́kɛ 'How many of them are there?'

53. mɔ to nginza ní na mbi ɔ́kɛ -L27 'How much money did you send me?'

54. ngéré ní ɔ́kɛ -C30 'What's the price?'

55. ɔ́kɛ agá bírí 'How many came yesterday?'

tongasó 'like this, so, well'

56. mará tí ázo tongasó, í yí ála na yá tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí í pɛpɛ -R2 'This kind of people, we don't want them in our villages.'

57. lá tongasó, í na ámbunzú, í goe -I55 'At about this time of the day, the White Men and I, we went.'

58. tongana mará tí tɛ́nɛ́ tongasó tí sioní akɛ na bɛ́ tí ála... -R2	'if this kind of evil thought is in their hearts...'
59. í sára tongasó giriri -L27	'We did it like this long ago.'
60. kusára tí wále aɛkɛ tongasó -A15	'The work of women is like this.'
61. í zó lo gí na ndó tí wá tongasó ngbii -I55	'We roasted it right over the fire like this for a long time.'
62. ála tɛnɛ mérɛngɛ́ wále asára l'école pepɛ. tongasó ngonzo asára mbi míngi. -A49	'They said girls don't go to school. So I was very angry.'
63. agá akpɔ dole. tongasó dole akúí. -A50	'They come and spear the elephant. So the elephant dies.'
64. tongasó sí fadé lo kɔnɔ nzoní	'In this way he'll grow up nicely.'
65. lo tɛnɛ, tongasó pɛpɛ. -L16	'He said, "It wasn't like that."'
66. gí tongasó ma.	'That's just the way it is.'

vɛní 'the very, precisely'

67. áSango vɛní akɛ fáa susu na gbánda -I39	'It's the Sango people who catch fish with nets.'
68. sése vɛní akɛ mú nginza na zo -R7a	'It's precisely the earth which gives money to people.'
69. gí kɔ́li ní vɛní asúru -L15	'It was the man who tore it.'
70. lo vɛní ahínga éré tí pendere kɔ́li só -F7	'It was he who knew the young man's name.'
71. mbi ɔ́kɔ vɛní mbi kɛ sára tɛ́nɛ́ só -N35	'I alone am the one who is telling this story.'
72. lo lóndó, lo vɛní -R1	'He got up, just himself.'
73. só vɛní sí í kɛ̧ -R2	'That's precisely what we reject.'
74. akɛ tongasó vɛní sí ála kɛ sára rognon tí yąma na vin -R9a	'That's exactly how you prepare animal kidneys in wine.'

4.30. Verbal adjunctives

Verbal adjunctives (Av) are distinguished by the fact that they generally occur in a verb phrase where they modify the verb. It is doubtful that any of them occur as adjuncts of nouns: perhaps the few occurrences of ge 'here,' ká 'there' and kíríkiri 'crooked' following noun phrases can be construed as being in minor clause types. Only one word, mbírímbírí 'straight,' appears to function substantively. The words bíaní and bíaku 'truly' can also occur at the beginning of a clause (like tongasó discussed above). The word fadé 'quickly' is identified with the form which marks the future tense (q.v. chp. 9). The word fadesó 'now,' on the other hand, is distinguished from fadé, although there may be historical relationship between the two.

The complete list of Av is the following:

ánde	'later, in the future'	híɔ	'quickly'
ándo	'already, in the past'	ká	'there, in that place'
bíakú	'indeed, truly'	kíríkiri	'crooked'
bíaní	'indeed, truly'	kpítíkpítí	'intensely (of black)'
da	'here, there'	kpó	'quiet'
dɔngɔ́ yɔngɔ́rɔ	'slimy'	mbírímbírí	'straight'
fadé	'quickly'	ngbii	'a while'
gbá	'in vain'	tár	'intensely (of white)'
gbándá	'at some future time'	yekeyeke	'slowly'
ge	'here'		

Some of the verbal adjunctives are obviously similar to words which are known in the literature on African languages as "ideophones." These words, whatever their grammatical classification might be, are generally quite distinct from the rest of the word classes in African languages. Semantically, they refer to one's perception of or emotional reaction to such things in the universe as size, dimension, motion, texture, speed, temperature, color, design, and so on. Phonologically and grammatically, they have characteristics which are uncommon elsewhere in any particular language. But one of their features is apparently shared by all African languages: wherever they have been seriously studied, they figure greatly in the total lexical inventory of a language. An average but careful dictionary might have from 1000 to 2000 such words.

It is somewhat surprising, therefore, in view of what has just been said, that there are so few ideophones in Sango. Our list is probably by no means exhaustive, but it is obviously very short. Increasing it will be no easy task. The investigator will have to determine which ones are truly Sango (i.e. used beyond the limits of a particular vernacular language) and which ones are not. One will certainly find, as I did, that speakers of Sango will introduce ideophones from their own languages.

One of the most frequently used ideophonic verbal adjunctives is ngbii 'for a while' (which also occurs as ngbi ngbi, with as many repetitions as one desires, and ngbiii, with a vowel as long as one desires). Like many ideophones, it is quite often difficult to translate.

An interesting characteristic of this word, and one which separates it from all the other verbal adjunctives, is its ability to function as a non-verbal sentence in a running narrative, most often paratactically joined to the following clause, but sometimes separated by terminal pause (ex. 4). Another interesting feature is that many speakers have identified ngbii with the French word jusqu'à (which is pronounced as zúsúka, etc.). That is, there is a relationahip of synonymity between ngbii and jusqu'à (ex. 5-10). And as so very often happens, it is not uncommon to find loan-calques where both of the words (in either order) are used (ex. 8-9). There are, of course, instances of French-like uses of jusqu'à, i.e. as a connective, with or without the Sango connective na (ex. 11). Most of the examples come from Protestants whose Bible translation never uses ngbii but always uses jusqu'à as a connective.

1.	lo báa mbi ngbii. -L168	'He looked at me for a while.'
2.	mɔ kánga yángá ní akpɔrɔ ngbii, awɔ́kɔ nzoní míngi -A11	'You put the lid on and it boils a while, and it's very nice and soft.'
3.	mbi kɔnɔ ngbii kɔ́ɛ́ sí mamá agá asára tɛ́nɛ́ ní na pɛkɔ́ -N81	'I grew up completely and then Mother came and told me about it later.'
4.	mbi sára yí sɔ́ ngbangatí sɔ́ mbi kɛ zo vɔkɔ́. ngbii, mbɛ́ní lá, mbi tɛnɛ na lo... -R1	'I do this because I am an African. Some time passed, and then one day I said to him...'
5.	mɔ dutí kpó jusqu'à -F7	'Keep on being quiet.'

6.	í na lo í dutí na ndo só jusqu'à. -N35	'He and I sat here a long time.'
7.	il faut que lo goe jusqu'à, lo húnzi. -R4d	'He must keep on going until he finishes it.'
8.	alɛkɛ jusqu'à ngbii I55	'They worked on it a long time.'
9.	mɔ sára kóbe ngbii jusqu'à, midi alíngbi awe -A11	'You keep on preparing the food, and when it's noon....'
10.	lo yí da apɛ, ahɔ̨́. jusqu'à, mɛ́rɛngɛ́ wále só, lé tí lo ambɔ́kɔ awe só, lo gá. -F7	'He didn't answer and went on. This went on a long time, and then this girl whose face was ulcerated came.'
11.	lo yuru na lo dé ngá na 2 l'heure tí bí jusqu'à 7 l'heure ti ndápéréré. -L7	'He had diarrhea and he vomited too at two o'clock at night until seven o'clock in the morning.'

Other verbal adjunctives:

12.	zángó yángá tí mɔ só. fadé í báa ndá ní ánde.	'Your sharp tongue! Some day we'll see the outcome of it.'
13.	fadé kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí Bangui akɛ kɔnɔ ánde -R2	'The city of Bangui will be big in the future.'
14.	ála sára ándo sioní yí míngi na í -R2	'They did terrible things to us in the past.'
15.	mbi tenɛ ándo na mɔ, wále tí mbi aɛkɛ na hôpital -R1	'I told you before that my wife was in the hospital.'
16.	ála zía yí tí ála bíakú bíakú -R10	'They left their things once and for all.'
17.	kɔ́li ní akę wále só bíaní -L15	'The husband rejected his wife definitely.'
18.	taá tɛ́nɛ́ tí mɔ bíaní? -C8	'Is what you say the real truth?'
19.	na bíaní, mbi hínga só -A15	'And indeed, I know this.'
20.	yí akɛ da apɛ -C31	'There's nothing to it.'
21.	lo yí da -C31	'He agrees.'
22.	mɔ túku kpí tí kárákó só da -A8	'You pour this peanut paste into it.'
24.	fadé lo kúí bíaní -L7	'He will really die.'

25. lo zíngo lo gbá -L175 'He stirred him in vain (i.e. without awakening him).'

26. fadé gbándá ámérengé ake gá na pekó tí mbi -R3 'At some time in the future children will follow me.'

27. mbi sára ngú óse ge -I9 'I've spent two years here.'

28. ayí tí mú mbéní ámérengé tí kótóró ge -R7e 'He wants to take some children from the village here.'

29. mbétí ní ake sí na í ge híɔ pepe -R9b 'The letters don't reach us here quickly.'

30. lo sí ká awe -F7 'He has already arrived there.'

31. amú lo ká na kótóró -L15 'He got him from over there in the village.'

32. ámérengé ní ká, ála ke na yoró alíngbi ape -N81 'The kids over there, they have a whole lot of charms.'

33. afáa ákóngbá tí yá tí da kíríkiri -L162 'He destroyed the things in the house left and right.'

34. zo kíríkiri alíngbi tí mú yoró pepe -R4c 'Not just anybody can take the medicine.'

35. bí ní avu kpítíkpítí 'The night was pitch black.'

36. mɔ zía mbi kpó -R1 'Leave me alone.'

37. lo dutí kpó -R2 'He sat still.'

38. mɔ kɔnɔ mbírímbírí -R7e 'You're just the right size.'

39. mɔ hínga mbétí mbírímbírí -R7e 'You know how to read well.'

40. taá téné laá mbírímbírí mbi tene só -C8 'That's the whole and complete truth which I said.'

41. í ke sára ánde kótóró yekeyeke -R2 'We'll make the country in the future little by little.'

4.40. Universal adjunctives

The universal adjunctives (Au) gí 'only' and taá 'real' are distinguished by the fact that they occur in construction with single words or whole phrases, and they never occur as substantives.

4.41. The adjunctive gí 'only' is the most frequently occurring Au and the one with the widest range of occurrence. It is found with nouns (ex. 1-4), with pronouns (ex. 5-6), with verbs (ex. 7, but this is the only occurrence in the corpus), with connectives (ex. 8-11), and with various other adjunctives (ex. 12-18). In some instances it is probably more accurate to interpret it as a mark of emphasis rather than trying to translate it with 'only' or some such word.

1. mbi tɛ gí ngunzá lá kóé -A44 'I eat just manioc greens all the time.'
2. babá afáa gí yáká -A21 'My father is just a cultivator of gardens (i.e. peasant).'
3. gí babá tí mbi laá asára -A40 'It was just my father who made it.'
4. ázo avɔ gí vɔ́ngó -L11 'People just buy it (i.e. pay cash for it).'
5. aéré gí mɔ -A9 'They call you specifically.'
6. gí í na lo lá kóé -R1 'It's just him and me all the time.'
7. akɛ gí hánda lo -C31 'He's leading him astray, that's all.'
8. mbi má gí na yángá tí mbéní zo 'I heard it only from someone else.'
9. amú na lo gí na cuillère -A9 'They gave it to him only by spoonfuls.'
10. venɛ ní gí tí mbi? -C29 'Is the lie just mine?'
11. akɛ gí ngbangatí wále ɔ́kɔ pɛpɛ -R4a 'It's not just for women alone.'
12. ngɔ́ ní aɛkɛ gí osió -A21 'There were just four boats.'
13. wángó tí lá só, gí ní laá awe -R4b 'The advice for today, that's all there is to it.'
14. tɛ́rɛ́ tí lo kóé akɛ gí sioní míngi -F7 'Her whole body was entirely awful.'
15. mbi wara gí kété kété -A44 'I received just a little.'
16. ázo adutí gí séngé -R6 'People sit around just doing nothing.'
17. mbi lángó gí ká -N80 'I lived just in that place.'
18. mɔ dutí gí tongasó -R6 'You sit around just like this.'

4.42. The adjunctive taá 'real' has a range of meaning quite similar to that of gí 'only,' but it has a more restricted distribution. It occurs only with nouns (ex. 1-3), pronouns (ex. 4) and a few connectives (ex. 5). Sometimes the translation of taá is quite removed from the meaning 'real.'

1. mɔ sára na mbi taá tɛ́nɛ́ -C31 'Tell me the truth.'
2. taá yángá tí mbi akɛ Zande -I39 'My real language is Zande.'
3. mbi kɛ taá saleté -N81 'I was really dirty.'
4. abuba taá í bíaní -R2 'They indeed did us much harm.'
5. mbi wara taá na 4/18/61 -L7 'I received it exactly on April 18, 1961.'

Chapter 5

CONNECTIVES

The connectives are those words which, like the prepositions and conjunctions of school grammar, relate words or constructions to other words or constructions. The currently-used term "function word" applies to them also. They are not subdivided into various kinds of "prepositions" and "conjunctions," because such a classification would not fully reflect the patterns of distribution. No classification, in fact, seems appropriate because there is so much overlapping of function. Some of this is illustrated by the accompanying chart. These connectives are: andáa, ka, mais, na, ngbangatí, sí tenetí, tí, títene, tongana, and wala. The requirements of the decimal system of outlining forced na and mais, on the one hand, and ngbangatí and tenetí, on the other hand, into single sections. No harm is done because these pairs of connectives are semantically quite similar.

The following chart summarizes the functions of the various connectives in terms of what they join.

Function	andáa	ka	mais	na	ngbangatí and tenetí	sí	tí	títene	tongana	wala
noun - noun				x			x		x	x
noun - adjunctive				x			x		x	
noun - verb							x			
verb - noun				x	x		x		x	
verb - adjunctive				x	x		x		x	
verb - clause					x				x	
verb - verb				x			x			
adjunctive - adj.				x						x
adjunctive - noun							x			
clause - clause	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
pre-clausal - cl.						x				
sentence initial	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x
clause final						x		x		
phrase initial				x	x		x		x	

5.10. andáa

The connective andáa (which also occurs as kandáa) is an adversative which can be translated by 'but, however, yet, but in other words, but it turns out that,' etc. It always precedes verbal predications. The preceding construction can be either another clause (uttered even by a different speaker in a dialogue) or some other construction in a single sentence. But there is not enough data on the latter use to permit greater precision of statement.

1. tongana mɔ má éré tí mɔ lá só pɛpɛ, kandáa mbɛ́tí tí mɔ ade na lége -R9b 'If you don't hear your name today, this means that your letter is still on its way.'
2. zo só ayí tí fáa mbi, andáa lo yí tí fáa ázo só a-voté éré ti mbi giriri -R3 'The person who wants to kill me is one, in other words, who wants to kill those people who voted for me long ago.'
3. mbi goe tí píka lo, andáa lo kúí awe 'I went to shoot him, but he had already died.'
4. andáa mɔ lungúla tongasó ma 'So that is how you open it?'
5. fadé lo zía mabɔ́kɔ tí lo na ngú tí mbɛ́tí, tí gbóngó na lé tí bulletin ní. andáa lo signé awe. -R1 'He will put his thumb in ink to seize the surface of the card with it. Just like that, and he's signed it.'

5.20. ka

The connective ka is quite uncommon, occurring only 14 times in the corpus, and being found in only 5 different texts. It has two distinct uses. On the one hand, in 7 instances it introduces the apodosis of a condition contrary to fact or uncertain to the speaker, as in the sentence: ... wále tí mbi aɛkɛ na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́, ka mbi na wále tí mbi í causé... '[If] my wife were in the village, then I and my wife would chat, [but she isn't].' In these, the protasis is introduced by tongana in 2 cases (ex. 1-2), by the combination ka tongana with intervening pause in 1 case (ex. 3), by nothing in 3 cases (ex. 4-5), and in 1 instance the protasis is not expressed, being included in a previous speaker's utterance in a conversation (ex. 6). The other use, of which 5 out of 6 examples occur in one conversational text, may be called the exclamatory use. It is always correlated with apɛ or pɛpɛ at the end of the sentence, and seems to introduce the idea of 'didn't it' or 'isn't it,' with emphasis or a sort of surprise. In four instances (ex. 7-8) the clause involved is verbal, and in 1 (ex. 9) it is non-verbal.

1.	ngú tí mbi, tongana yá tí carte d'identité ka mɔ hínga -N35	'My age, if [it is] on my identity card, then you'll know, [but I'm not sure it is].'
2.	tongana adu í, ka í sára nzoní yí míngi -R2	'If it were us, then we would do many good things.'
3.	ka, tongana adú ámbunzú pɛpɛ, ka l'heure só mbi kúí tí mbi awe -N35	'If White People hadn't been born, then as far as I'm concerned, I would have already died by now.'
4.	adu ní ála, ka ála língbi títenɛ ála sára nzoní yí pɛpɛ -R2	'If they were them, then they couldn't do good things.'
5.	wále tí mbi aɛkɛ na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́, ka mbi na wále tí mbi í causé -N35	'If my wife were in the village, then I and my wife would talk.'
6.	patron tí lo akę tí fúta lo awe? --- ɔ́kɔ pɛpɛ. ka lo tɛnɛ na mbi awe. -R1	'Has his boss ever refused to pay him? --- Never. [If it were so], then he would have told me.'
7.	mbi kɛ sukúla bongɔ́ na kɔ́li só ka mbi passé ka mbi wara pendere bɔngɔ́ tongasɔ́ apɛ ma -C31	'I wash clothes for this man, and I iron and I still don't get beautiful clothes like this.'
8.	íta, ka mɔ hínga manière tí wále aɛkɛ ndé ndé apɛ? -C31	'Sister, don't you know that the tricks of women are varied?'
9.	ka íta gí ní laá apɛ -C31	'Oh, sister, that isn't it at all!'

5.30. mais, na

5.31. The connective mais (from the French) has only one function, i.e. to join a clause (including verbless predications) to a preceding clause. Some of these clauses might possibly be constituents of a single complex sentence, but most of them seem to be independent sentences; nowhere does mais join clauses in such a way that they can function again as a single construction which can take awe or pepɛ (q.v. 9.30, 8.12). The clause which is introduced by mais can be related to the last one uttered by another speaker in a conversation. All of this is reminiscent of French mais. Like it Sango mais can be said to have the force of an adversative correlative meaning 'but.' This is its usual function, but there are many sentences where it seems to have no meaning different from na as a coordinating connective. In some places mais is even followed by another connective.

A brief pause can occur after mais, but this pause seems to have no connotative function unless accompanied by a rising contour. This contour serves to emphasize the connotation of the connective, that is, by strongly calling in question what has been said, by emphasizing the truth of what is going to be said, etc.

mais with adversative force:

1.	na ákaká tí giriri kɔ́li afáa yáká, mais wále afáa yáká pepɛ. -A4	'In the times of the elders, men made gardens, but women didn't make gardens.'
2.	wále só adú na kɔ́li só á-mɛ́rɛngɛ́ otá, mais ɔ́kɔ akúí. -L15	'This woman bore that man three children, but one died.'
3.	B. mɔ prié gí na Nzapá, awe. A. mais íta, lá kóɛ́ mbi kɛ prié. -C31	'B. 'Just pray to God.' A. 'But friend, I always pray.'
4.	ála tɛnɛ, nginza ní sí aɛkɛ ngangó na ála. mais yí só aɛkɛ taá tɛ́nɛ́ ní pepɛ. -L27	'They say that getting money is hard for them. But this is not the truth.'

mais as a coordinating connective:

5.	ála tenɛ, í língbi tí ça va na lége tí malade só. mais éré tí malade ní aɛkɛ monganga. -A48	'They said, we can become well by means of this fetish. And the name of this fetish is monganga.'
6.	na yá tí juin só, mbéní kɔ́li tí Banana ɔ́kɔ aɛkɛ. mais lo báa ndo pɛpɛ. -L17	'In this month of June, there was a man from Banana. And he couldn't see.'
7.	wále tí mbi aɛkɛ na ngɔ tí nzɛ ukú. mais mbi díkɔ Nzapá da tɛnɛtí só afúti lá kɔ́ɛ́. -L6	'My wife is five months pregnant. And I'm praying to God because it (the foetus) always perishes.'

mais introducing verbless predications:

8.	mais yí ɔ́kɔ, íta. -L4	'But there's one thing, friend.'
9.	mais tongana yę. -L5	'But what's the matter?'
10.	mais gí na lége tí lɛ́kɛ́ngó kóbe. -A8	'But the reason is just the manner of preparing food.'

mais followed by other conjunctions:

11.	na ngonzo asára mbi míngi pɛpɛ, mais ngbangatí mbi ngbá mɛ́rɛngɛ́. -A49	'And I wasn't very angry, because I was still a child.'
12.	áyí só ála sára só aɛkɛ lége ní pɛpɛ. mais sí mbi fa na mɔ tí má sí. -L2	'The things they did were not right. But I'm telling you so that you can hear.'
13.	mais na í ámɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí yá tí ála, í báa yí só tongana yí tí mbírímbírí. -A48	'And we their children, we considered these things good.'

5.32. The connective na is, by virtue of its very frequency (2593 examples in the corpus) difficult to define. Its basic idea seems to be something like proximity or accompaniment ('near' or 'with'), but it occurs with a wide variety of extensions of meaning: simple addition, location (to which, in which, from which), time (in which), beneficiary (which is an extension of location), possession, accompaniment, manner, means, and so forth. Though many examples present no problem, there are enough borderline semantic distinctions and enough real ambiguities to preclude the use of the semantic categories in anything more than an indicative way.

Syntactically, na is used in two basic ways: to coordinate and to subordinate. In its coordinating function, it unites, usually additively, parallel constructions: two or more noun phrases, two or more tí-verb phrases, or two or more clauses. In its subordinating function, it introduces a wide variety of complements in the verb phrase (q.v. chp. 11), various kinds of pre-clausal constructions (q.v. chp. 12), and complements in verbless predications (q.v. chp. 14). In this subordinating use, na may sometimes be omitted (ex. 1-3), but may readily be supplied without changing the sense of the sentence. It may also on occasion be introduced when there seems no real justification for it (ex. 4-5).

1. anzɛrɛ (na) ní míngi -R9a 'It pleased him greatly.'
2. lo sára (na) í tɛ́nɛ́ -R9b 'He spoke to us.'
3. mɔ kírí (na) ní na mbi -C29 'Come back with it to me.'
4. ála kú na mbi na lá tí 2o juin -R2 'They waited for me on the 2oth of June.'
5. akɛ kírí na tɛ́nɛ́ na Jésus -R1o 'He returned a word (i.e. answered) to Jesus.'

5.32.1o. There are 45o occurrences of coordinating na in the corpus, of which 192 join noun phrases, 3o enter into numeral phrases, 4 join tí-verb phrases, 1 joins a tí-verb phrase and a tí-noun phrase, and 223 join clauses.

Occurrences of noun phrases united by na include pronoun + na + pronoun (ex. 1-6), pronoun + na + noun phrase (ex. 7-11), noun phrase + na + noun phrase (ex. 12-25). In only two cases (ex. 26) does a pronoun follow na after a noun phrase. Series of noun phrases may be joined with na at every transition (ex. 29-31), or with na occurring at only some of the transitions (ex. 32-33). In a few cases (ex. 27-28), some other element, such as an adjunctive or an object, may intervene between the first noun phrase and the na which introduces a second noun phrase. When the first noun phrase of two united by na is introduced by tí, the tí may be repeated with the second noun phrase (ex. 2o-21), or it may be omitted (ex. 18-19). The tí is never repeated when one or both of the elements is a pronoun. The omission is more frequent than the repetition (18/28 occurrences). In 11 cases, a subordinating na precedes the first noun phrase (ex. 22-23), in which case it may be construed as introducing the entire construction consisting of all the noun phrases joined by coordinating na.

The one example of a tí-verb phrase and a tí-noun phrase being joined by na is ex. 34. In this case, the noun is a noun of action, and therefore may be considered to have a semantic affinity to verbs. There are also cases where na joins two tí-verb phrases (ex. 35-36). Examples of na entering into the construction of numeral phrases are 37-38.

When na joins clauses, it suggests simple sequence. The problem is then whether or not to consider what precedes as a different sentence or as a preceding clause in the same sentence. This problem is discussed under non-verbal sentences (q.v. chp. 14, fn.). In the present state of our knowledge, we must conclude that the placing of sentence breaks between clauses joined by simple na (ex. 39-56) is rather subjective and impressionistic. When na is accompanied by another conjunction, as tongana after na or et and mais preceding na (ex. 57-59), there is a much stronger presumption that the conjunctions introduce a new sentence. In some cases (ex. 60-61), na is preceded or followed by a pre-clausal construction, usually an adjunctive such as tongasó and fadesó. In the examples, where na is alone, no attempt is made to indicate sentence division. In some cases, where na is reinforced in such a way as to indicate a clear break, the sentence division is indicated.

Since in some cases, clauses may follow each other without any connective, it is necessary to consider what kinds of clauses may follow coordinating na. When the subjects of the preceding and following clauses are compared, the following facts appear: 55 occurrences represent sequences with the same subject in both clauses. Of these, the subject of the second clause is expressed by nothing in one case (ex. 39), by a- in 3 cases (ex. 40), by a pronoun in 44 cases (ex. 41-43), and by a noun phrase in 7 cases (ex. 44-45). In 90 cases, the subject of the two clauses is different. Of these, the subject of the second clause is expressed by a- in 4 cases (ex. 46), by a pronoun in 33 cases (ex. 47-48), by a noun phrase in 45 cases (ex. 49-50), and by an adjunctive in 9 cases (ex. 51-53).

In addition to these examples, in which the subject immediately follows the connective, there are 26 cases where a pre-clausal construction follows na (ex. 54). In 3 cases, the na clause follows and is coordinated with a clause introduced by tongana (ex. 55-56). In 2 cases, the na clause following the tongana clause seems clearly to be the principal clause, and the na is anomalous (ex. 57). Cases where na is reinforced by another connective or by an adjunctive are also illustrated below (ex. 58-61). In the examples, since in many instances more than one na appear, the one intended is underlined. For a discussion of juxtaposed clauses without na, see 15.20.

1.	mɔ na lo í dutí tí causé -A8	'You and he sat to chat.'
2.	mbito agbó lo, na ála só kóé -R10	'Fear gripped him and them all.'
3.	í na mɔ í kɛ dé bá na ndó ní ngá -C29	'You and I will swear over it also.'
4.	mbi yí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí í na ála agá taá kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ -R3	'I want my country and yours to become a real country.'
5.	í na ála kóé, í ɛkɛ íta na íta -R2	'We and they, all, are as brothers.'
6.	ála éré í na mɔ kóé pɛpɛ? -R1	'Didn't they call me and you both?'
7.	mbi bara o í na Madame nzoní -L1	'I greet you and Madame cordially.'
8.	mais nzala tí ála sí asára mbi na wále tí mbi -L2	'But it's a desire for you that is affecting me and my wife.'
9.	lo na zo vɔkɔ́ agá bóngbi ɔ́kɔ -R2	'He and the Black Man came and met together.'
10.	í óse na ámɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí mbi -N35	'we both and my children'
11.	mɔ girísa lo na sambéla tí í na mamá ti Manya pɛpɛ -L7	'Don't forget her in the prayers of you and the mother of Manya.'
12.	fadesó mɔ gá babá na mamá tí mbi awe -R1	'Now you have become my father and my mother.'
13.	mbéní tɛ́nɛ́ tí ngangó na tɛ́nɛ́ tí pási aɛkɛ da -R10	'Some hard things and some things of suffering were in it.'

14.	áita tí í kóé, na ámbéní zo tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ míngi -A50	'all our relatives, and many other people of the village'
15.	mɔ fa tɛ́rɛ́ tí mɔ na kóbe tí mɔ -C31	'You show off your body and your food.'
16.	Ngongo René Claude, só mbi sára kusára tí contrôleur du travail, na Pascal só aɛkɛ secrétaire tí direction du travail -R1	'Ngongo René Claude, who did the work of a labor inspector, and Pascal, who was the secretary of the labor department'
17.	lo tɛrɛ, na mbéní yąma só adé éré tí lo na yángá tí Sango, atɛnɛ, kpíkara -L175	'he, the spider, and another animal whose name in Sango is kpíkara'
18.	histoire tí babá na mamá tí mbi -A42	'a story of my father and mother'
19.	mamá tí Manya na Ramona -L27	'the mother of Manya and Ramona'
20.	kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí ámbunzú na tí ázo vɔkɔ́ ngá -R1	'the country of White Men and of Black Men also'
21.	mariage tí bureau na tí mission -L7	'civil and religious marriage (lit. marriage of the office and of the mission)'
22.	mbi yɔ́rɔ yɔ́rɔ́ngó na oignon na tomate -C31	'I fried it with onions and tomatoes.'
23.	lo ɛkɛ na babá na mamá pɛpɛ -R1	'He doesn't have a father or a mother.'
24.	mbi tɛnɛ ní na lo kóé, lé na lé -R2	'I told it all to him, face to face.'
25.	aɛkɛ sára ngú na ngú? -L27	'Do they do it every year (lit. year with year)?'
26.	í ázo tí sése kóé, na mbi aussi -R3	'we the people of the whole land, and I also'
27.	amú na mɔ bara o tí lo, na madame na amɛ́rɛngɛ́ kóé -L27	'He gives you his greetings, and Madame and the children also.'
28.	mbi bara o mɔ míngi na á-famille kóé ngá -L5	'I greet you cordially, and the whole family as well.'

29. ála sambéla kéké, na tɛ́mɛ́, na péré, na nzɛ kóé, na lá -A15	'They worshipped trees, and stones, and grass, and the moon, also, and the sun.'
30. yáká tí nzó, na tí lɔ́sɔ, na tí ananas -R6	'the fields of corn, and of rice, and of pineapples'
31. bara o tí mbi na wále tí mbi na áwa má bɛ́ tí Bogira kóé -L2	'the greetings of me and my wife and all the believers of Bogira'
32. mbi bara o áwa má bɛ́, á-membre, á-chrétien na pasteur kóé -L15	'I greet the believers, the members, the christians and all the pastors.'
33. aɛkɛ Pierre na André, Jacques na Jean -R10	'It was Peter and Andrew, James and John.'
34. nginza tí goe na ní na wále tí mɔ, na tí baptême tí mɔ ngá -R1	'money to take to your wife, and for your baptism also'
35. tí má yángá tí mamá tí mɔ, na tí má yángá tí babá tí mɔ -A42	'to obey your mother, and to obey your father'
36. tí attaqué áíta tí lo na tí kamáta ála -I39	'to attack his relatives and to capture them'
37. lángó bale ɔ́kɔ na óse -R4d	'twelve days (i.e. one ten and two)'
38. ngú bale ɔ́kɔ na ukú na otá -A21	'eighteen years (ten and five and three)'
39. lo ɛkɛ toto, na tɛnɛ -L186	'He's crying, and says...'
40. kɔ́li só akamáta wále tí lo, na agá na Fort Archambault -L15	'This man took his wife, and came to Fort Archambault.'
41. ála ɛkɛ ázo só aɛkɛ dɔ́ sumári, na ála mú mbéní kété kóbe tí goe na ní -A48	'They were those people who danced the sumári, and they took some bits of food to take away.'
42. tongasó, kɔ́li só amú woga só awe, na lo fáa kámba na gɔ́ tí woga awe -F4	'And so, this man took this small animal and he cut the cord off the neck of the animal.'

43.	mbi wara yíngɔ́ tí zía da, na mbi wara mbéní kpí tí zía da -A44	'I found some salt to put into it, and I found some paste to put into it.'
44.	wɛ̨ aɛkɛ na yá ní, na wɛ̨ ní aɛkɛ sí gígí -A13	'There is iron in it, and the iron comes out.'
45.	ázo só akírí agá na yá tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí lo awe, na ázo ní a-commencé tí hú míngi -I39	'when these people had turned and entered into his village, and they began to prosper greatly...'
46.	mbi sára na mafuta, na abe, na mbi tɛ -A44	'I fix it with oil, and it browns, and I eat it.'
47.	mbi língbi hónde yí tí Afrique na mɔ pɛpɛ, na mɔ língbi tí hónde yí tí Amérique na mbi ngá pɛpɛ -L27	'I can't conceal the things of Africa from you, and neither can you conceal the things of America from me.'
48.	tongasó, kótará tí áni fadesó, aɛkɛ sára mbéní yí tongasó encore apɛ, na ála girísa lége tí wɛ̨ tí ála kóɛ́ awe -A13	'And so now, our ancestors don't do anything like this any more, and they (i.e. people) have entirely forgotten the way of iron.'
49.	lo húnda mɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí lo, lo tɛnɛ, mɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí mbi, na mɛ́rɛngɛ́ ayí da -L17	'He asked his child, saying, "My child." And the child responded.'
50.	í commencé tí sára yí só, na ázo aɛkɛ gá na tɛ́rɛ́ ní -A48	'We began to do this thing, and people were coming near.'
51.	lo kɛ̨ kóbe tí ála, na só ahɔ̨́ -F7	'He refused their food, and these passed on.'
52.	ámbéní aɛkɛ píka ngɔ, na ámbéní aɛkɛ fáa kɔkɔ -A48	'Some were beating drums, and some were cutting kɔkɔ leaves.'
53.	na ndá ní, lo dutí ká, na mbéní só agá -F7	'Afterwards, she sat over there, and this other one came.'
54.	lo sukúla tɛ́rɛ́ tí wále só kóɛ́ awe, na ápendere wále só míngi míngi, ála sára kóbe -F7	'When she finished washing the body of this woman, then all those very many young women, they made food.'

55. tongana ámamá agoe na ngonda tí mú makongó, na ála mú makongó kóé awe, agá sí na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ fadesó -A8	'When the mothers had gone into the bush to get caterpillars, and had finished getting the caterpillars, they came then to the village.'
56. mais tongana ángaragé ní abáa yąma na ti tí ázo só, na ála tɛnɛ, mú na mbi yąma ní -A37	'But when the ngaragé initiates saw the meat in the hand of this man, then they said, "Give me the meat."'
57. mbi sára école ngbii, na tongana l'heure só í sára kóé -N81	'I went to school for a while, and when the time came when we had finished...'
58. mais na í ámérɛngɛ́ tí yá tí ála, í báa yí só tongana yí tí mbírímbírí -A48	'But as for us, the children of their bowels, we considered this as a right thing.'
59. et na mbi báa na lé tí mbi -L17	'And I saw with my own eyes...'
60. na, fadesó, í wara mbéní nzoní yí -A42	'And now we have received a certain good thing.'
61. tongasó na amú atúku na yá ní -A8	'And so they took and dumped it in.'

5.32.20. In its subordinating function, na introduces a complement, generally in a verb phrase (q.v. chp. 11), which carries a meaning of location, of benefaction, of time, of accompaniment, of possession, of manner, of means, of instrument, and so forth. In fact, na introduces all noun phrase verb complements except objects, copulative complements, a few time phrases made with lá 'day' and ngú 'year,' and tí-noun phrase possessives. In addition to appearing in verb phrases, na complements occur in pre-clausal constructions (q.v. chp. 12) and in non-verbal sentences (q.v. chp. 14), with the same general semantic categories.

5.32.21. The force of locative na can be made more specific by the addition of one of a number of nouns which help to define the locus of the action, the whole construction being a sort of prepositional expression. The idea of direction of the motion or of position as such is carried mostly by the verb, but a classification according to the verbs used is not nearly as clear nor as meaningful as the one based upon the following noun. These nouns have their own specific and concrete lexical meanings, and may with these meanings be introduced by na. But in the idiomatic constructions they lose this specific meaning. Some of these conventionalized nouns are names of parts of the body, some refer to well-defined places. As in many languages, some expressions can bear notions of both location and time. This is the case especially with na pɛkɔ́ tí, which can mean both 'behind' and 'after,' in such a way that the distinction is not always apparent. But there are many unambiguous cases which oblige us to set up a time category as distinct from the locative idea. Here are the principal conventionalized nouns which express location:

bé 'middle,' na bé ní 'at the center of' (ex. 1)
devant (<Fr.), na devant 'in front of' (ex. 2)
gbɛ́ 'underpart,' na gbɛ́ ní 'underneath' (ex. 3)
gígí 'outside,' na gígí 'outside' (ex. 4)
lé 'face,' na lé ní 'on the surface of' (ex. 5)
li 'head,' na li ní 'on top of' (ex. 6-8)
mbáge 'side,' na mbáge ní 'beside' (ex. 9-10)
ndó 'top,' na ndó ní 'on top of' (ex. 11-12)
ndo 'place,' na ndo só 'here' (ex. 13-14)
ndúzú 'sky,' na ndúzú 'up' (ex. 15-16)
pɛkɔ́ 'back,' na pɛkɔ́ tí 'behind' (ex. 17-20)
pópó 'middle,' na pópó ní 'in the middle, in between' (ex. 21)
sése 'ground,' na sése 'down' (ex. 22-23)
tɛ́rɛ́ 'body,' na tɛ́rɛ́ ní 'beside' (ex. 24-25)
yá 'belly,' na yá ní 'inside' (ex. 26-29)
yángá 'mouth,' na yángá ní 'at the edge of' (ex. 30)

A few other words seem almost at the point of being likewise conventionalized in construction with na: da 'house' (ex. 31), kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ 'village' (ex. 32), lége 'road' (ex. 33), ngonda 'bush' (ex. 34).

In addition, many kinds of nouns may follow na in a locative sense, notably proper nouns of places (ex. 35-36), personal nouns and pronouns (ex. 37-38), common nouns of places (ex. 39-40), and miscellaneous nouns (ex. 41).

1.	azía ngɔ ní na bé ní -A21	'They put the drum into the middle of it.'
2.	í zí na devant tí yoró tí í -A37	'We put it before our fetish.'
3.	mbi wara na gbɛ́ tí mabɔ́kɔ tí mbi -R9b	'I found it under my hand.'
4.	akɛ kú mbi na gígí -R1	'They're waiting for me outside.'
5.	bi ngɔ́ tí mɔ na lé tí ngú -R10	'Push your boat out on the surface of the water.'
6.	mbi tambéla na li ní -R2	'I walked in front.'
7.	ála fáa ngbanga na li tí lo awe -L27	'They have passed judgment on him already.'
8.	lo goe tí sára tɛ́nɛ́ ní sioní míngi na li tí mɔ -A49	'He went and said very bad things about you.'
9.	bɛ́ tí ála avurú na mbáge tí ázo vɔkɔ́ -R2	'They are completely candid towards Black People.'
10.	zía mbéní yąma ní na mbáge -I55	'Put some of the meat aside.'
11.	í na mɔ í kɛ dê bá na ndó ní ngá -C29	'You and I, we'll swear on it also.'
12.	lo lángó na ndó tí sése míngi laá -R7f	'It's because he has dwelt on the earth a long time.'
13.	kɔa tí mbi aɛkɛ na ndo só -I41	'My work is here.'
14.	agá na ndo tí mbi -R6	'He came to my place.'
15.	ála sára mbɛ́tí na ndúzú -R9b	'Write at the top.'
16.	aɛkɛ uru na ndúzú -R2	'They are flying in the air.'
17.	mbɛ́tí tí ála angbá na pɛkɔ́ -R9b	'Your letters remain behind.'
18.	mɔ kɛ dutí gí na pɛkɔ́ tí sandúku ti nginza ní -R1	'You've just been staying behind the cash box.'
19.	mɔ goe na pɛkɔ́ tí lo -A29	'You follow him.'
20.	kapíta só aɛkɛ na pɛkɔ́ tí makunzi -A50	'the headman who is after the chief'
21.	ála goe na pópó tí ádole só -A51	'They went among those elephants.'
22.	mɔ kínda mbi na sése? -C30	'Will you knock me down?'

23. mɔ zía na sése -R9a 'Put it aside (i.e. on the ground).'
24. aɛkɛ dutí na tɛ́rɛ́ tí mɔ -R1 'He remained beside you.'
25. mɔ gá ndurú na tɛ́rɛ́ da -C30 'Come close beside the house.'
26. agá túku na yá tí ngú só -A8 'She comes and pours it into the water.'
27. lo kpɔrɔ na yá tí ta só -F7 'She boiled inside the pot.'
28. wę́ aɛkɛ na yá ní -A13 'There's iron in it.'
29. lo lungúla ngunzá só na yá tí ngú só -A8 'She removed those greens from the water.'
30. lo bóngbi ála na yángá tí ngú -R10 'He gathered them beside (i.e. at the edge of) the water.'
31. aɛkɛ fa na ámɛ́rɛngɛ́ na da -A49 'They showed the children in the house.'
32. wále tí mbi aɛkɛ na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ pepɛ -A35 'My wife wasn't in the village.'
33. hínga pepɛ, á-postier asúru na lége -L3 'Who knows, perhaps the postal clerks tore it up on the way.'
34. fadé lo ngbá na ngonda bíaní -F4 'He'll really stay in the bush.'
35. ála gá na Kelo giriri -L17 'They came to Kelo formerly.'
36. mbi goe na Bangui apɛ -A21 'I didn't go to Bangui.'
37. agoe na mbi na docteur -N81 'They took me to the doctor.'
38. tongana zo agá na mɔ -F4 'when someone comes to you...'
39. mbi wara ta na magasin -A15 'I found a pot at the store.'
40. mbi ɛkɛ na l'école -A44 'I'm in school.'
41. mɔ báa na mbɛ́tí tí Matthieu ká -F4 'Look in the book of Matthew there.'

5.32.22. The category of benefaction is closely related to the locative, but is specialized enough to merit separate treatment. It is distinguished by referring exclusively to persons, and by having in general a close connection with a nearby object, which may sometimes be simply implied. In other words, this complement corresponds fairly closely to that sort of indirect object in English which occurs after verbs like 'give.' In Sango, it is also such verbs as mú 'give,' tenɛ 'say,' fa 'show,' sára 'do,' and so forth, which are followed by beneficiary complements. In most cases, na may be translated 'to' or 'for,' though in a few instances 'of' or 'from' seems more appropriate. The beneficiary complement is illustrated in examples 1-13. With a few intransitive verbs, such as língbi 'to be enough or appropriate' and nzɛrɛ 'to be pleasant,' there is a na complement which is best construed as a beneficiary complement (ex. 10-11).

1.	mbi mú na ndao -A40	'I gave it to the blacksmith.'
2.	mbi tɛnɛ na mɔ -R6	'I tell it to you.'
3.	ála fa lége tí voté na ámbéní zo tí sése -R3	'You've showed the way to vote to the other people of the earth.'
4.	mbi sára kɔa na lo -R1	'I've worked for him.'
5.	mɔ ɛkɛ sára na ála ngangó tɛ́nɛ́ -A49	'You're telling them hard sayings.'
6.	lo gá tí húnda na mbi nginza tí nzɛ -R1	'He came to ask of me the wages for the month.'
7.	ála kɛ toka mbɛ́tí na í -R9a	'You're sending letters to us.'
8.	bɛ́ tí mbi asɔ na patron tí mbi míngi -R1	'I'm much aggrieved at my boss.'
9.	mɔ ɛké súku na lo -A49	'You become very angry with him.'
10.	alíngbi na lo pɛpɛ -R2	'It wasn't enough for him.'
11.	anzɛrɛ na bɛ́ tí mbi míngi -R2	'It pleases me very much.'
12.	fadé mbi báa yí tí kírí na question tí mɔ -L11	'I'll find something to answer your question.'
13.	lo súru na mbi fɔndɔ ɔ́kɔ -N81	'He split for me one plantain.'

5.32.23. The na time complement may comprise conventionalized nouns, in much the same way as the locative complements (q.v. 5.32.21). In fact, the word pɛkɔ́ 'back' is common to both lists, and is the occasion of some ambiguity. Nevertheless, usually there is no problem (ex. 2-3). Other words so used are ndá 'end,' na ndá ní 'afterwards' (ex. 1), and yá 'belly,' na yá tí 'inside' (ex. 4). In addition to these locutions, a na time complement may comprise the name of a period of time (ex. 5-8), a date or a day of the week (ex. 8-9), an hour (ex. 9), a phrase designating a part of the day, such as lá kúí 'sunset' (ex. 10), and miscellaneous nouns (ex. 11).

1. ámbéní zo só agá na ndá ní -L27 'the other people who came afterwards...'
2. lo gá na pɛkɔ́ ní -F7 'She came afterwards.'
3. ahɔ̨́ fadé na pɛkɔ́ tí midi só -R7a 'They left quickly after noon today.'
4. fadé í báa na yá tí nzɛ só -C29 'We'll see during this month.'
5. mɔ mú na lo na ndápéréré só -R4a 'You gave it to him this morning.'
6. mɔ tɛ na bí -A8 'You eat at night.'
7. áni má gɔ́ tí mɔ na lá ní -L27 'We heard your voice on that day.'
8. mbi ɛkɛ éré ála da, na lá tí dimanche, na 5 avril -R3 'I'm calling you to it, on Sunday, on April 5.'
9. mbi lɔ́ndó na Nice na mercredi, na 8 heures ti ndápéréré -R2 'I left Nice on Wednesday, at eight in the morning.'
10. mɔ vɔ rognon ní na lá kúí -R9a 'You buy the kidneys in the evening.'
11. mbi sí na moitié -I39 'I've come to the midpoint.'

As a possessive complement, the na phrase follows the verb ɛkɛ 'to be.' The clause may be constructed in either direction: possessor + ɛkɛ + na + possessed (ex. 1-3), or possessed + ɛkɛ + na + possessor (ex. 4). Since this is not the only way of expressing possession, the following examples are given to illustrate the shades of meaning involved:

bɔngɔ́ aɛkɛ tí lo 'The garment is his.'
bɔngɔ́ aɛkɛ na lo 'He has a garment.'
lo ɛkɛ na bɔngɔ́ 'He has a garment.'
bɔngɔ́ aɛkɛ na tɛ́rɛ́ tí lo 'There is a garment on his body (i.e. he is clothed).'

But the relative frequency of these two orders is entirely in favor of the possessor + ɛkɛ + na + possessed, which is found in 66 out of 68 examples. In the following examples, the na phrase is a complement of possession.

1. mɔ ɛkɛ na mɛ́rɛngɛ́ ti kɔ́li? -R1 'Do you have a son?'
2. lo ɛkɛ na ngú bale otá na ndó ní miombe -R7f 'He's thirty-eight years old (lit. he has 38 years).'

3. ní ɛkɛ tí ní na kóbe pɛpɛ -F4 'He himself didn't have any food.'

4. yoró aɛkɛ na ála -A51 'They had charms.'

5.32.25. The remaining kinds of na complements are rather miscellaneous. There is the complement of accompaniment (ex. 1-8) which involves no special difficulties. There is the complement of manner (ex. 9-11), expressed sometimes by means of the expression na lége tí + noun phrase (or simply lége ní), or by means of a noun or adjunctive expressing a disposition or a quality. There is the complement of means (ex. 12-16), which includes instrument, material means, parts of the body, language, and other expressions. It must be noted that the expression mbi sí na ngiá 'I'm full of joy,' which is included here, is, according to Mr. Nambozouina, a Europeanism. Standard Sango would reverse the order and say ngiá así bɛ́ tí mbi 'joy fills my liver.' Also included here are those complements comprising the expression na éré tí 'in the name of.'

There is a complement which for want of a better term is called the "subject," or "topical" complement in which na may be translated 'about' or 'concerning' (ex. 17). There is a quite typical complement which we may call the "end goal" (ex. 18-21), in which the basic pattern is subject + verb + raw material + na + finished product, as in ála sára wɛ̨́ na ngáfó 'They made the iron into hoes.' The main feature which defines this class seems to be a teleological element in the speaker's view of the complement. A number of other semantic categories are illustrated below (ex. 22-23), for which the gloss seems as complete an explanation as is necessary.

As has been shown, the specific meaning of na is very elusive. It has been variously translated 'to,' 'for,' 'at,' 'toward,' 'in,' 'from,' 'of,' 'with,' 'and,' 'as,' 'on,' and in many other ways. But it must not be supposed that this extreme range leads to ambiguity in actual communication. In all but a very few cases, the context indicates quite clearly what is meant.

1. mbi ɛkɛ ká na mbéní íta tí mbi -I39 'I was over there with a certain brother of mine.'

2. mbi yí mɔ gá na ní -C29 'I want you to bring it.'

3.	mbi kɛ mú na mɔ nginza tí goe na ní na wále tí mɔ -R1	'I'm giving you money to take to your wife (lit. to go with it).'
4.	mbi língbi tí sára búbá na kɔa tí mbi pɛpɛ -R3	'I can't act foolishly with my work.'
5.	lo dutí na De Gaulle séngé pɛpɛ -R7a	'He didn't stay with De Gaulle for nothing.'
6.	mbi lángó na íta tí mbi -I9	'I lived (lit. slept) with my brother.'
7.	í bőngbi na ála lége ɔ́kɔ -R2	'We assembled together with them.'
8.	mbi kɛ ngbá gí na ngbéré bɔngɔ́ tongasó -C31	'I just remain with old clothes like this.'
9.	báa mbi na ngiá na yángá tí ála -R6	'...see me with joy in their mouths'
10.	mamá tí mbi adutí gí na vundú -N81	'My mother remained in great grief.'
11.	ázo, ála sára yáká tí coton na ngú só na lége ní -L27	'People are making cotton fields this year in the right way.'
12.	áSango vení akɛ fáa susu na gbánda -I39	'It's the Sango who kill fish with nets.'
13.	mɔ kpaka tɛ́rɛ́ tí mbi na ní -F7	'Scratch my back with it.'
14.	abáa í na lé pɛpɛ -R6	'They didn't see us with (their) eyes.'
15.	lo goe gbó kpɔ́ka tí yáká na mabɔ́kɔ tí lo -A49	'He went and grabbed the garden hoe with his hand.'
16.	mbi tɛnɛ na ála na éré tí ázo tí ála kóé -R2	'I say to you, in the name of all your people...'
17.	mɔ ɛkɛ d'accord na mbi na tɛ́nɛ́ só? -R1	'Do you agree with me concerning this matter?'
18.	ngáfó aɛkɛ kpɔ́ka tí fáa na yáká -A13	'The ngáfó is a hoe to make a garden with.'
19.	alíngbi na nginza tí vɔ na yí só pɛpɛ -A44	'It isn't enough money to buy this thing with.'

20. mbi fáa na yąma na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ -A40 'I kill animals with it in the village (lit. I kill with animals).'

21. ála sára í na búbá zo tí ála pɛpɛ -R2 'They don't make us into their fools.'

22. mamá tí mbi asára na mbi na mɛ́rɛngɛ́ -A49 'My mother did it to me as a child.'

23. ámbéní ayǭ na du thé -N78 'Some drink tea.'

5.32.26. In verbless constructions (q.v. chp. 14), a na phrase may serve as the complement of a noun, thus entering into a noun phrase, in a way somewhat analogous to an attributive construction. But the semantic categories expressed are the same ones as are found in the instances previously discussed, where the na phrase is a complement of a verb. That is, the na phrase expresses location (ex. 1-2), time (ex. 3), possession (ex. 4), or end goal (ex. 5). In a few cases, the na phrase seems to be absolute, that is, in construction with nothing else, as some sort of elliptical sentence (ex. 3).

A na phrase may enter into or constitute pre-clause constructions (q.v. chp. 12), where they are semantically nothing more than complements of the verb placed before rather than after it. Thus, pre-clausal na phrases express location (ex. 6-7), time (ex. 8-9), means (ex. 10-11), subject (ex. 12), and so forth. Among the time phrases, na ndá ní and na pɛkɔ́ ní are frequently used (10/85 and 40/85 occurrences respectively). In a number of instances, these phrases are reinforced by such adjunctives as tongasó and fadesó.

1. Juif ɔ́kɔ na pópó tí apôtre -R10 'one Jew among the apostles'

2. ázo tí mbi kóé lo só na tɛ́rɛ́ tí mbi -R6 'All my people (are) these beside me.'

3. gí na yá nzɛ tí avril 1958 -L15 'just during the month of April 1958'

4. ála kóé gí na kobéla tí bilharzie -R4a 'They all (have) the liver fluke disease.'

5. gí kusára na nginza sí atambéla -R1 'It's just work for money which goes.'

6. na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi ámbéní míngi ahínga tí tɔ́ ngunzá pepɛ -A8 'In my village, many don't know how to cook greens.'

7. na pópó tí áni, áwále tí Manza asára ta encore pepɛ -A13 'Among us, the Manza women don't make pots any more.'

8. na pɛkɔ́ ní, á-député aɛkɛ voté gouvernement -R3 'Afterwards, the deputies will choose a government.'

9. na ndá ní, tongana mbakɔ́rɔ wále só afa éré tí kɔ́li só -F7 'afterwards, when the old woman told the name of this man...'

10. na lége tí má bɛ́ áni ɛkɛ ndurú lá kɔ́ɛ́ -L27 'Through faith we are always close.'

11. na éré tí gouvernement tí France, mbi tɛnɛ ála kɔ́ɛ́ -R2 'in the name of the government of France, I tell you all...'

12. eh bien fadesó na lége tí tɔ́ngɔ́ tí wále, na Bangui ndo só,... -A8 'well now, concerning the cooking of women here in Bangui,...'

5.32.30. The following tables show in detail the frequency of every kind of construction in which na may occur.

Table 1. Condensed table of all uses.

Coordinating:		
joining noun phrases	192	
joining numeral phrases	30	
joining verb phrases	4	
joining a verb phrase and a noun phrase	1	
joining clauses	223	
Total for coordinating uses		450
Subordinating:		
in verb phrases	1951	
in non-verbal constructions	36	
in pre-clause constructions	156	
Total for subordinating uses		2143
Grand Total, all uses		2593

Table 2. Frequency of different types of noun phrase + na + noun phrase.

pronoun + na + pronoun	19	
pronoun + na + pronoun kóé	12	
pronoun + na + pronoun só kóé	1	32
pronoun + na + noun phrase	32	
pronoun phrase + na + noun phrase	1	
noun phrase + na + pronoun	2	35
noun phrase + na + noun phrase	67	67
series of noun phrases, na each time:		
2 occurrences of na	15	
3 occurrences of na	2	
4 occurrences of na	1	40 total occurrences
series of noun phrases, na not present each time	7	11 total occurrences
noun phrase + adjunctive-object + na + noun phrase	5	5
deviant constructions	2	2
Total occurrences of na joining noun phrases		192

Table 3. Frequency of different types of clause + na + clause.

simple na	178	
na tongana	19	
et/mais na	4	
na + preposed adjunctive	15	
preposed adjunctive + na	7	
Total occurrences of clause + na + clause		223

Table 4. Frequency of different types of na phrase complements of verbs.

locative	878	manner	47
beneficiary	461	means	93
temporal	172	subject	7
possessive	68	end goal	50
accompaniment	153	miscellaneous	22

Total na phrase verb complements: 1951

Table 5. Frequency of different prepositional expressions of location.

bé	3	ndo	63
devant	3	ndúzú	9
gbɛ́	14	pɛkɔ́	26
gígí	3	pópó	11
lé	15	sése	34
li	13	tɛ́rɛ́	41
mbáge	18	yá	114
ndó	25	yángá	14
Total occurrences	406		

Table 6. Frequency of beneficiary complements following the verb:

mú	112	húnda	18
tenɛ	85	to, toka, etc.	27
fa	69	intransitive verb	26
sára	66	miscellaneous	58
Total occurrences of beneficiary complement	461		

Table 7. Frequency of different types of temporal complements.

ndá	1	phrase: lá kúí, etc.	8
pɛkɔ́	21	date, day of week	29
yá	27	hour	16
name of period of time	59	miscellaneous	11
Total of temporal na phrases	172		

Table 8. Frequency of complement of accompaniment following the verb.

ɛkɛ	6	dutí	7
gá	20	lángó	6
goe	30	bóngbi	7
sára	22	miscellaneous	55
Total of complements of accompaniment	153		

Table 9. Kinds of na phrase complements in non-verbal constructions.

locative	33	possessive	1
temporal	1	end goal	1
Total in non-verbal constructions	36		

Table 10. Kinds of na phrases in pre-clausal constructions.

locative	63	means	4
temporal	85	subject	4
Total in pre-clausal constructions			156

5.40. ngbangatí, tɛnɛtí

5.41. The connective ngbangatí serves both to introduce noun- and verb-phrase complements of verb phrases and also to join clauses to clauses (some of which may possibly be sentences). A somewhat ambivalent use of this connective is that where it introduces tɛ́nɛ́ só or just só before being followed by a clause, i.e. ngbangatí(tɛ́nɛ́)só. While this construction can be pedantically translated 'for the reason that,' it appears to be otherwise indistinguishable from simple ngbangatí. (For this pronominal use of só, see 4.23.30.) It marks cause, reason, purpose, etc. and can be translated 'for, to, because,' etc. It therefore closely resembles tɛnɛtí in every respect. While the clausal use seems to be generally explanatory (e.g. 'because') rather than purposive (e.g. 'in order that'), it is the context which determines which meaning is in the sentence. The sentence lo vɔ ngombe ngbangatí lo goe fáa na yąma would mean 'He bought a gun to go and shoot animals with it' but lo vɔ ngombe ngbangatí lo fáa yąma lá kóé might mean 'He bought a gun because he shoots animals all the time.'

The first two syllables of the standardized form are pronounced in several different ways, the phonetic transcription of which is given below, where the dropping of the parentheses will produce yet another form.

ŋmgbaŋga	ŋmgbą	ŋmgba
mbaŋga, mbaŋ(a)	mbą(ą)	mba
maŋga, maŋ(a)	mą	
ŋmaŋa		

For a similar diversity in forms, compare tongana, 5.80.

It is perhaps possible to look at some of the occurrences of ngbanga (followed by tí) as being the head noun of a noun phrase since there is a noun ngbanga whose meaning is 'word, affair, judgment,' etc. E.g. mɔ sambéla ngbangatí mbi tɛnɛtí kusára tí lo só lo éré mbi ngbanga ní tí sára. 'Pray for me because of his (i.e. God's) work which he called me to do.' Reason for not describing ngbangatí as ngbanga + tí is not so much that it would make tí introduce clauses (which it otherwise does not do) but that when it precedes a clause it so often is separated by a pause from the preceding verb phrase; tí is never separated in this fashion.

More often than not (36/43), a preclausal use of ngbangatí is preceded by a pause (19 of which are sentence pause), but only rarely does pause precede a prenominal use of the connective. In the latter case the sentence with the pause seems to be stylistically different from the one without it. E.g. tongana lo yí títenε lo báa ndo na yá tí lé tí zo vɔkɔ́, kaméla amú lo, ngbangatí sioní yí só giriri lo kε sára na zo vɔkɔ́. 'When he (i.e. the White Man) wants to look into the face of a Black Man, shame seizes him, because of the bad things he used to do to the Black Man long ago (R2).'

ngbangatí with noun phrases (38/103 occurrences):

1. yí só zo afáa tέrέ míngi apε ngbangatí yí tongasó apε? -N35 'Things over which people kill each other a lot about, aren't they things like these?'
2. akε ngbangatí nginza -I9 'It's because of money.'
3. mo língbi tí kę lo ngbangatí bɔngɔ́ lá wa -C31 'How can you reject him over clothes?'
4. akε ngbangatí France vεní sí fadesó sése tí í adutí kpó -R2 'It is because of France that our country now is in peace.'
5. mbi língbi tí kę á-famille tí mbi kóé ngbangatí só pεpε -N35 'I can't reject my relatives over this.'
6. mɔ dé éré tí lo ngbangatí yę -F7 'Why did you call his name?'
7. mo húnda mbi tongasó ngbangatí yę -C30 'Why do you ask me in this way?'

ngbangatí with verb phrases (2/103 occurrences):

8. í gá na ndo só gí ngbangatí sára tέnέ na ála na yá tí radio lá só -R6 'We come here only to talk to you in the radio today.'
9. í fɔnɔ encore ngbangatí gí dole -I55 'We marched again to look for elephants.'

ngbangatí with clauses (43/103 occurrences):

10.	mbi zía yí só kóé ngbangatí kɔa tí mbunzú asɔ zo míngi -R6	'I left all of this because White Man's work hurts one much.'
11.	sioní yí só ahúnzi awe, ngbangatí í vɛní, i kɛ na yá tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí í -R2	'All bad things have vanished because we are in our own country.'
12.	lo kɛ sára pendere yí míngi ngbangatí lá só lo kɛ na ngú bale otá na ndó ní miombe -R7f	'He's going to do a lot of nice things because today he's thirty-eight years old.'
13.	akɛ tɛ́nɛ́ tí ngiá pɛpɛ, ngbangatí, tongana mɔ zo, mɔ báa kɔ́á na lé tí mɔ, mɔ língbi títɛnɛ mɔ ngbá pɛpɛ -R4b	'It's not funny because when you there, you see death with your eyes, you can't continue living.'
14.	fadesó atúku ála da ayɔ́rɔ ála nzoní, ngbangatí ála fų́. -A8	'Now she dumps them into it and fries them well to prevent them from spoiling.'
15.	fadé akɛ éré ála ánde...ngbangatí ála gá tí sára examen tí ála -R7b	'They'll be calling them later for them to come to take their examinations.'

ngbangatí with (tɛ́nɛ́) só (15/103 occurrences):

16.	mbi mú na mɔ merci míngi monsieur, ngbangatí tɛ́nɛ́ só mɔ gá mɔ wara mbi lá só -N35	'I thank you very much sir, because you came and met me today.'
17.	mbi sára yí só ngbangatí só mbi kɛ zo vɔkɔ́ -R1	'I do this because I am a Black Man.'
18.	mbi má Sangó, mbi má mbírímbírí apɛ, ngbangatí só mbi goe na école -A21	'I understand Sango (but I don't understand it well), because I went to school.'

ngbangatí introducing sentences (included in 43 clauses):

19.	lo yí kékéréke, mbi kɛ kírí na kɔa. ngbangatí mbi kɛ babá tí mɛ́rɛngɛ́ fadesó. -R1	'If he wants, tomorrow I'll come to work. Because I am the father of a child now.'

20.	congé só akɛ tí múngó repos ma zo tí kusára, títaɛ ngangó tí lo agá da. ngbangatí lo kɛ kéké pɛpɛ. -R1	'This vacation is to give rest to a workman so that his strength will be renewed. Because he is no tree.'
21.	tongana ála báa mɔ kɛ na nginza apɛ, ála yí da pɛpɛ. ngbangatí wále a-dépensé nginza míngi. -I9	'When they see that you have not much money, they don't want to. Because women spend a lot of money.'
22.	B. mɔ kɛ hé gí ngiá na lé tí lo. só sárángó yí tí yɛ̧. íta, ngbangatí tɛ́nɛ́ só mɔ tɛnɛ amú ngiá na mbi laá mbi hé só apɛ? -C31	B. 'You are laughing in his presence. What kind of a business is this? A. Isn't it because what you said made me laugh?'

5.42. The connective tɛnɛtí is, both syntactically and semantically, virtually identical with ngbangatí. That is, it introduces verb- and noun-phrase complements of verb phrases, with a generally purposive or destinative meaning ('for,' 'to'), and it introduces clauses, with a generally explanatory force ('because of'). It is rather less frequent than ngbangatí in the corpus, and 58 per cent of its occurrences are found in letters, which come mostly from people of a Protestant background. In Protestant literature, tɛnɛtí is used almost exclusively, while ngbangatí is virtually absent. The tabulation of percentage of frequencies is given below:

Introducing noun phrases (including pronouns and nominalized verbs)	30 per cent
Introducing verb phrases (with purposive force)	2
Introducing clauses, reason (incl. tɛnɛtí só)	60
Introducing clauses, purpose (incl. 1 with tɛnɛtí tɛnɛ)	3
Interrogative (tɛnɛtí yɛ̧) absolute	9
Interrogative (tɛnɛtí yɛ̧ + clause)	6

The connective tɛnɛtí is said in at least six different ways, the phonetic transcription of which is given below: tɛnɛtí, tɛntí, tɛtí; tenetí, tentí, tetí.

The same reasons as are adduced for ngbangatí make it inadvisable to consider tɛnɛtí as being the head noun tɛ́nɛ́ and the connective tí. These are, briefly: the frequent presence of pause between tɛnɛtí and the preceding verb phrase, and the fact that it would make tí introduce clauses. Furthermore, a literal translation of the noun would in most instances be an absurd overtranslation, which is evidence that the force of the noun has been quite conventionalized. It should also be noticed that the tones of tɛnɛ are not high as they are with the noun tɛ́nɛ́. The above-mentioned pause occurs before tɛnɛtí in 32 per cent of the cases in which the following construction is a phrase, and in 88 per cent of the cases in which the subsequent construction is a clause. Of these last, 48 per cent are sentence breaks. In one instance, there is no pause before tɛnɛtí, but there is pause immediately after it, while in one case there is pause both before and after.

The expression tɛnɛtí tɛnɛ, which occurs once, followed by a clause, might be considered ambivalent, but it seems in every way equivalent to the construction without the second tɛnɛ, and so is assimilated to it.

Examples given below as are follows: tɛnɛtí introducing noun phrases (ex. 1-7), introducing a verb phrase (ex. 8), introducing clauses with explanatory force (ex. 9-16), some of which also contain só after tɛnɛtí (ex. 15-16), introducing clauses with purposive force, including the one with tɛnɛtí tɛnɛ (ex. 17-18), and introducing interrogative expressions, with yɛ̨ (ex. 19-21).

1.	í kángbi tɛnɛtí á-famille -A50	'We divided it for the family.'
2.	yí fadesó ngangó míngi tɛnɛtí nginza -L2	'Things (are) tough right now as far as money is concerned.'
3.	zo atɛ tɛnɛtí nzala -L27	'People eat out of hunger.'
4.	mbi mú merci na Nzapá tɛnɛtí bɛ́ nzoní só lo sára na wále tí mbi -L7	'I thank God for the kindness which he showed to my wife.'
5.	lo toto tɛnɛtí mɔ lá kóé -L27	'He cries for you all the time.'
6.	bɛ́ tí mbi asɔ tɛnɛtí mɔ lá na lá -L2	'My liver hurts for you every day.'
7.	lo éré na kóbe tɛnɛtí tɛ́ngó ní -L17	'He begged for food to eat.'
8.	í vɔ na nginza, tɛnɛtí payé l'impôt -A50	'We sell it for money, in order to pay taxes.'
9.	tɛnɛtí í sára kóbe na lége ní pɛpɛ, ní laá sí í kɛ wara malade míngi -A8	'Because we don't prepare food in the right way, that's why we get many illnesses.'

10.	merci míngi tɛnɛtí, mbunzú así na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ awe -A15	'Many thanks, because the White Man has arrived in town.'
11.	woga akpé tí lo bíaní awe, tɛnɛtí lo ɛkɛ yąma -F4	'As for him, woga ran completely away, since he was an animal.'
12.	lo tɛnɛ mbi kú lo tɛnɛtí fadé lo báa mbi -L7	'He told me to wait for him because he would see me.'
13.	mɔ tɛnɛ ngá gí ndurú tɛ́nɛ́, tɛnɛtí ámbéní zo míngi akɛ kú mbi na gígí -R1	'Just make a brief statement, because many other people are waiting outside for me.'
14.	tɛnɛtí tongana yí aɛkɛ, lo fa na mbi, báa, só lo, pepɛ -L2	'Because when there was a problem, he didn't say to me, "Look, this is it."'
15.	mbi tɛnɛ merci míngi na Nzapá tɛnɛtí só, mbi sí na gbɛ́ ní pɛpɛ -A15	'I say many thanks to God because I didn't fall under it.'
16.	agoe zía ála na kánga, tɛnɛtí só zo akúí tongasó -L6	'They went and put them in jail, because people died like that.'
17.	mbi sára mbɛ́tí só na í tɛnɛtí í má na tɛ́nɛ́ tí mbi -L1	'I write this letter to you so that you can hear about me.'
18.	aɛkɛ ngbangatí nginza. tɛnɛtí tɛnɛ mɔ wara nginza míngi, mɔ húnda á-famille tí mɔ. -I9	'It's on account of money. In order to get a lot of money, you ask your family.'
19.	mbi tɛnɛ merci míngi na Nzapá tɛnɛtí yę? -A15	'I give many thanks to God for what reason?'
20.	tɛnɛtí yę mɔ gá tí vɔ́ngɔ́ kóbe na galá -C30	'Why do you come to buy food at the market?'
21.	í mú mbéní, í mú na makunzi. tɛnɛtí yę? lo vɛní sí a-commandé kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́. -A50	'We take some, we give it to the chief. Why? because he's the one who administers the village.'

5.50. sí

5.51. The connective sí introduces clauses except for one kind of construction described below. Like some of the other connectives it can stand at the beginning of a sentence in a monologue or dialogue (ex. 1-2), but its more common occurrence is between clauses or between a pre-clause construction and its clause. Between clauses its primary, if not only, function is that of a sequential connective. An over-translation might be 'and then' or 'so then.' This is borne out not only by the nearest English equivalent translation but also by the fact that an African speaker of this language can replace sí by ndá ní or na pɛkɔ́ ní which are equivalent constructions for 'later' and 'after that.' Moreover, some of the clauses preceding sí can be reduced to subordinate status by adding tongana 'when' (q.v. 5.81) and leaving out the sí. Again, some occurrences of sí can be replaced by na or entirely left out with no apparent change in meaning. The various other translations of sí (like 'so that') are best attributed to the context. For this reason examples are classed according to whether the time of the events spoken of is in the past (ex. 3-9), in the present (ex. 10-16), or in the future (ex. 17-22).

sí introducing sentences:

1.	lo tɛnɛ, mbi ɛkɛ servir mɔ pɛpɛ. sí mbéní kɔ́li na pɛkɔ́ tí mbi atɛnɛ, mais mɔ servir madame só. -L168	'He said, "I'm not serving you." So a man behind me said (to him), "But serve this lady."'
2.	A. wángó só lá ní mɔ mú só anzɛrɛ na mbi míngi. B. oui. A. sí mbi tɛnɛ ... -R4d	A. 'That exhortation you gave the other day, I liked it very much.' B. 'Yes.' A. 'So I say ...'

sí with past time clauses:

3.	yá tí mbi asúku, akɔnɔ tongana ballon, sí ála pompé ní -N81	'My abdomen swelled and grew as big as a balloon, which they pumped up.'
4.	agá a-commencé píka mɛ́rɛngɛ́ wále só awe, sí mɛ́rɛngɛ́ wále só atɛnɛ ... -N79	'She came and began to hit this girl, and this girl said ...'
5.	abáa pási míngi na yá tí ngú bale osió, sí lo gá kótá -R2	'It suffered much for forty years and then became great.'

6.	ní yí tí gá tí sára kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí ní na Bambari na ndo só, sí amú mbi ká, sí í na lo í gá na Bambari na ndo só, sí mbi commencé tí sára kusára tí lo -I39	'He wanted to come to live here in Bambari, so he took me there, then he and I, we came here to Bambari, and I began to do his work.'
7.	mbi vɛní mbi wara sí mbi éré mɔ -C29	'I'm the one who found it and called you.'
8.	mɔ mú rognon só mɔ préparé ní na vin na l'ail sí alángó -R9a	'You take the kidneys which you have prepared in wine and garlic and which stood (a while).'
9.	lo goe tí píka dole, sí lo píka mbéní kɔ́li dole ní, amú lo, afáa lo -L6	'He went to shoot an elephant, and he shot a male elephant, and it seized him and killed him.'

sí with present time clauses:

10.	yę asɔ mɔ sí mɔ ɛkɛ toto tongasó. -L186	'What is hurting you that you cry like this?'
11.	tongana mɔ wara nginza ní míngi apɛ, sí mɔ kɛ mú wále na yá ní, nginza tí mɔ ahúnzi awe -I9	'If you don't earn much money and you take a wife on top of everything, your money is finished.'
12.	zo tí gíngɔ́ yoró na mbi sí mbi soigné na ní aɛkɛ pɛpɛ. ní laá sí mbi pensé bɛ́ tí mbi na ákusára tí mbi, sí mbi ɛkɛ toto só. -L186	'There is no person to look for medicine for me so I can treat myself with it. That's why I'm thinking about my work and am crying like this.'
13.	ála yí ála kɛ na bureau tí mbi, sí tongana tɛ́nɛ́ akɛ, mbi kɛ na ndo só tí fángó ngbanga -R1	'They want you to be in my office, so that if there should be trouble, I am here to settle it.'
14.	í zía kpí tí sindi na ndó ní, na kárákó, sí í kɛ tɛ na ní -A8	'We put sesame paste on it, and peanuts, and we eat it with this.'

15. akɛ ngbangatí France vɛní sí fadesó sése tí í adutí kpó -R2 — 'It is because of France alone that now our country is peaceful.'

16. á-bon ní angbá, sí monsieur ade tí húnda ngbanga ní lá kóé -L11 — 'The debts remain and Monsieur continues to ask about them all the time.'

sí with future time clauses:

17. tɛnɛ na mbi kózo, sí fadé mbi báa mɔ tongana mɔ sí ánde na Bangui -L3 — 'Tell me in advance, and then I'll see you when you arrive in Bangui.'

18. wángó tí ndápéréré akɛ wara ká l'heure míngi míngi sí fadé í língbi títɛnɛ í píka na mɔ disque pɛpɛ -R4a — '"Wango ti ndaperere" doesn't have a lot of time for us to be able to play you a record.'

19. í yí títɛnɛ í sára kótá yáká tí avion, sí fadé á-avion míngi a-língbi títɛnɛ agá -R2 — 'We want to build a large air field so that many airplanes will be able to come.'

20. il faut í sára mbéní kótá yáká títɛnɛ í lú yí da sí í wara nginza tí í -R6 — 'We must make large gardens and plant things in them so that we will receive our money.'

21. mbi yí tí sára réponse tí mɔ, na mɔ sára tí mbi na mbi, sí fadé aɛkɛ nzoní míngi -L4 — 'I want to answer your letter, and you answer mine, and then it will be nice.'

22. ála kɛ commencé ánde na lángó bale ɔ́kɔ na óse, akɛ sí ánde na lángó bale ɔ́kɔ na osió, sí concours ní awe -R7b — 'They'll be beginning on the 12th, going to the 14th, and then the competitive examination will be over.'

5.52. The connective sí follows pre-clausal constructions of subject (ex. 1-8), object (ex. 9-13), time (ex. 14-17), and circumstance (ex. 18-25). These are also discussed in chp. 12. The use of sí in this construction is not obligatory.

sí following pre-clausal subject construction:

1. só vɛní sí akɛ nzoní -R2 — 'This is what is good.'

2. lo vɛní sí acommandé kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ -A5o 'He's the one who governs the town.'

3. France vɛní sí asára na í nzoní míngi -R2 'It is France which was good to us.'

4. ázo tí sése tí Bangui kóé sí amú confiance tí ála na mbi -R3 'All the people around Bangui have placed their confidence in me.'

5. zo wa sí amú na mbi wa -L186 'Who was it that gave it to me?'

6. só kóbe tí yáká sí aɛkɛ na aú só? -F4 'Is this garden-food which Uncle has?'

7. áni báa mɔ pɛpɛ ngbangatí kobéla tí madame só sí a-merdé lo míngi sí mɔ goe ngbanga ní -L11 'We don't see you because of Madame's illness which is giving her much trouble and for which you returned.'

8. á-dɔcteur sí ála mú na lo éré só na lo tongasó -L7 'It was the doctors who gave it this name like this.'

sí following pre-clausal construction:

9. gí lo sí Jésus akɛ fa lége tí yí kóé na lo -R1o 'Jesus revealed all things only to him.'

10. só vɛní sí í kɛ̧ -R2 'It's this which we reject.'

11. mɛ yí ɔ́kɔ. nginza ní sí ála wara tí bóngbi na mbi tí to na í pɛpɛ. -L1 'But there's one thing. They don't find money to save with me to (permit me to) send it to you.'

12. zo só ayí tí fáa mbi, la République Centrafricaine sí zo ní ayí tí fáa lo -R3 'The person who wants to kill me wants to kill the Central African Republic.'

13. téné so inspecteur tí zo vɔkɔ́ kóé sí asára ní na Brazzaville -R1 'All the African inspectors spoke about this matter at Brazzaville.'

sí following pre-clausal temporal constructions:

14. bírí sí madame amú bɔngɔ́ ní na mbi -L7 'Yesterday Madame gave me the clothes.'

15. sept heures et demie sí ála gá -R7b 'Come at seven o'clock.'

16.	kózoní sí mbi sára tɛ́nɛ́ na ála, mbi yí ... -R9b	'Before I tell you, I want to ...'
17.	kózoní sí lo mú ála tí gá apôtre, lo goe lo ɔ́kɔ ná li tí hɔ́tɔ́ -R10	'Before He chose them to become apostles, He went alone to the top of a hill.'

sí following pre-clausal constructions of consequence, manner, and reason

18..	lo tí ní na kutukutu ká na Londres. ní laá sí lo kɛ na kobéla. -R2	'He fell from an auto over there in London. That's why he's sick.'
19.	í gá sára ngú míngi na Bangui. ní laá sí nzala tí kíríngó na Fort Archambault asára mbi bien apɛ. -N81	'We came and have spent many years in Bangui. That's why I don't have very much desire to return to Fort Archambault.'
20.	wále tí mɔ adú? a bon, ndá ní laá sí mbi báa mɔ fadesó apɛ? -R1	'Your wife gave birth? Oh, is that the reason why I haven't been seeing you lately?'
21.	ndá ní sí mbi húnda na mɔ -L168	'That's why I ask you ...'
22.	...ála tɛnɛ, ála má pɛpɛ. ndá ní só vɛní sí í ɛkɛ tɛnɛ ... -R9a	'...you say that you don't hear. That's why we are saying ...'
23.	tɛnɛtí sioní tí mɔ laá sí fúta ní agá na mɔ -L17	'It's because of your evil that the retribution has come upon you.'
24.	mais peut-être sí tongana lo báa íta tí lo, wále, akɛ na ní míngi ... -R4a	'But perhaps when she sees that her women friends have it a great deal ...'
25.	tɛnɛtí yɛ̧ sí mɔ mú kótá yoró, sí íta tí mbi akúí -L16	'Why is it that you took the powerful medicine which resulted in my sister's dying?'

5.53. The only place where sí does not precede a clause is precisely where a clause can occur. The connective occurs at the end of a sentence as a result of ellipsis. It is very often possible to supply a meaningful apodosis. E.g. fa na mbi sí (fadé mbi hínga) 'Tell me then (I'll know).' While there are admittedly sentences where it would be awkward to supply an apodosis, there seems to be no advantage in describing a homophonous final particle. This sentence-final use of sí can very often be left untranslated. Otherwise it can be translated 'then' or 'first.'

1.	só taá tɛ́nɛ́, wala venɛ? fa na mbi sí. -L27	'Is that the truth or a lie? Tell me.'
2.	zía lo goe tí ká makala sí -I9	'Let her go to sell makala.'
3.	ála má mbi sí -R1	'Now listen to me.'
4.	mɔ língbi tí zía ngá, í hú tɛ́rɛ́ tí í kété sí apɛ? -C31	'Can't you let us rest a little?'
5.	tongana zo agá na mɔ, alíngbi mɔ hínga lé tí lo sí -F4	'When a person comes to you, you should first recognize his face.'

5.60. tí

The connective tí is used even more frequently than na (2945 examples in the corpus), and it is also extremely versatile. It is therefore quite difficult to assign to it any basic meaning, for it may express in different circumstances ideas as diverse as possession, place, time, purpose, attribution, and various other things. One can say of it, however, that it is exclusively a subordinating connective. In this, it is quite different from na (q.v. 5.32) which has extensive coordinating functions. While in this one way it is restricted in function, however, tí has a wider range of occurrence than na, joining not only noun phrase complements to their heads, but also verb phrase complements, both to noun heads and to verb heads. The connective tí does not govern dependent clauses. Briefly, tí may join noun to noun; noun complement to verb head; adjunctive complement to noun head; a nominalized verb to a noun, an adjunctive, or a verb head; a verb complement to another verb; a verb complement to a noun head; and a few other uses which will be discussed and illustrated below.

5.61. As was shown above, the construction in which a noun phrase is joined to its head by tí is by far the most common usage of tí (2281/2945 occurrences). The head may be a noun (2170 occurrences), or a verb (72 occurrences). There are also 29 cases in which there is no head present. These phrases are called connective phrases (q.v. 10.40), and they invariably function as if there were a head noun, that is, they function substantively.

5.61.10. In noun phrases, a tí-noun phrase complement may express a wide range of relationships, including possession, equation, attribution, location, time, and others. As with na (q.v. 5.32.20) these categories are semantic, and are not in every instance mutually exclusive or free from ambiguity. They are therefore useful as an indication of the range of uses of tí rather than as a strictly grammatical classification.

5.61.11. By far the most frequent notion is possession, in one of three broad areas: the complement may express the whole of which the head is a part, such as li tí zo só 'The head of this man'; or it may indicate simple possession, such as da tí zo só 'The house of this man'; or it may indicate human relationships, such as íta tí zo só 'The sibling of this man.' Obviously, the distinction is purely semantic, and the definition of possession must often be made somewhat arbitrarily. The distinction between the possessive constructions using tí and those using na has been made elsewhere (q.v. 5.32.24). All three types of possessive constructions are illustrated below: part-whole (ex. 1-8), simple possession (ex. 9-15), and human relationships (ex. 16-20). Statistical tables of all the types of tí-noun constructions will be given below. A significant feature of this kind of usage is the extreme frequency of pronouns as possessive complements. In all three categories, but especially in the last, pronouns are overwhelmingly preponderant (821/1025).

1.	adu kámba kété kété na gɔ́ tí woga só -F4	'He tied a very small cord to the neck of the antelope.'
2.	alungúla lé tí kɔ́li na wále kóɛ́ -A42	'It opens the eyes of men and women both.'
3.	bɛ́ tí zo a-changé -R10	'The liver of people changes.'
4.	ála kɛ sambɛ́la kɔ́tá li tí hɔ́tɔ́ -A48	'They worshipped the tops (lit. the heads) of hills.'
5.	avɔkɔ́ tongana píndírí tí wá -R2	'It's black like the coals of fire.'
6.	mbi kɛ díkɔ fadesó éré tí ázo só -R9b	'I'm reading now the names of these people.'
7.	mɔ hínga bɛ́ tí lo -F4	'You know his liver (i.e. him).'
8.	adé éré tí mbi pɛpɛ -F7	'She doesn't say my name.'

9.	kóngbá tí mbunzú ní ahɔ̧́ ndó ní -I55	'The belongings of this White Man were more than enough.'
10.	mbi goe na da tí kɔ́li apɛ -C8	'I haven't gone to a man's house.'
11.	akɛ passé míngi na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí ázo vɔkɔ́ -R1	'It's going around a great deal in the country of the Black People.'
12.	ála zía yí tí ála kóɛ́ -R10	'They left all their possessions.'
13.	goe na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi -A40	'...go to my village.'
14.	mariage tí ála aɛkɛ encore pɛpɛ -L15	'Their marriage is no more.'
15.	par jour tí ála aɛkɛ ndɛ́, tí í aɛkɛ ndo só ndé -I55	'Their daily rate is different, and ours is different here.'
16.	babá tí mɛ́rɛngɛ́ ní akúí ngá -L17	'The father of the child died also.'
17.	mamá tí Vote abara mɔ -L27	'The mother of Vote (personal name) greets you.'
18.	mbi ɛkɛ fadesó makunzi tí á-fonctionnaire -R3	'I am now the chief of the civil servants.'
19.	kɔ́li tí lo amú nginza -L162	'Her husband took money.'
20.	kótará tí áni afa na áni -F7	'our ancestors showed us...'

5.61.12. A second semantic category within the noun + tí + noun type of construction is what may be called the "equational construction," in which tí joins nouns which are semantically equivalent. Here one might overtranslate tí as 'which is (a).' It may be that this should be analyzed as constituting one type of attribution (q.v. below). Typically, the head noun indicates a class of things or beings, and the complement, in a way which may be termed appositional, makes the construction more specific. This is the ordinary means of naming a village, a river, and so on. The equational construction is illustrated below (ex. 1-5).

There is one typical ambiguity possible between possession and equation, in particular when nouns designating human beings are used. Thus, the following illustration might be construed either way:

mérɛngé tí wále só	'the child of this woman' or 'this child (which is) a female.'

In practice, however, the context almost never leaves any genuine ambiguity in interpretation.

1.	nzɛ tí novembre só -L27	'this month of November'
2.	ámbéní adú mérɛngé tí wále -L17	'Others bore girl children.'
3.	kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí Republique Centrafricaine -R4a	'the country of Central African Republic'
4.	na yángá tí Sango laá -A44	'That's in the Sango language.'
5.	kɔ́li tí íta tí mbi tí wále ní	'the husband of my sibling (who is) a female (i.e. my sister)'

5.61.13. Attributive complements may be classified generally as either objective or subjective, according to whether the head noun or the complement expresses the characterizing feature. A second classification, which cuts across the previous one, distinguishes between qualities and processes. There is thus a four-way classification: the head noun is a trait of the complement (ex. 1); the complement is a trait of the head noun (ex. 2-7); the head noun affects the complement in some manner (ex. 8-9); and the complement in some way affects or effects the head noun (ex. 10-13). In a number of these cases (ex. 1), the head is actually an adjunctive rather than a noun, but it is substantively used.

Just as there is potential ambiguity between possession and equation, there is also potential ambiguity between possession and attribution, as is seen from the following illustration, which may be construed two ways:

mabɔ́kɔ tí wále	'the hand of the woman' (possession) or 'the left hand' (attribution).

Just as in the former case, however, the ambiguity is more potential than real, since the context almost invariably clears it up.

In two categories, that in which the head is a trait of the complement, and that in which the head is affected or effected by the complement, the latter is often a pronoun. In the first case, the proportion is 9 out of 28, but in the latter it attains 115 out of 172. This frequency of pronoun complements is a peculiarity of the possessive and attributive categories.

1.	abáa pendere tí ngú -R2	'They see the beauty of the water.'
2.	mɔ fa manière tí kɔa ní -C30	'Show the manner of this work.'
3.	á-microbe tí bilharzie -R4a	'the microbes of the liver-fluke disease'
4.	aɛkɛ tɛ́nɛ́ tí ngiá pɛpɛ -R4b	'It's not a joyful thing.'
5.	áyí tí vundú atí na ndó mbi -L7	'Things of grief have fallen on me.'
6.	mbi ɛkɛ (...) zo tí péché -R10	'I am a man of sin.'
7.	yáká tí café -N35	'the coffee plantation'
8.	malade tí aú tí mbi -N80	'the sickness of my uncle'
9.	mɔ má tɛ́nɛ́ tí kɔ́á tí lo -L7	'You've heard the news about his death.'
10.	só aɛkɛ kusára tí áwále laá -A15	'That's the work of women there.'
11.	mbi sára tɛ́nɛ́ tí yángá tí mbi -N35	'I say the things of my mouth (i.e. I speak for myself).'
12.	mbi wara lettre tí mɔ awe -L4	'I've received your letter.'
13.	ála girísa lége tí wɛ̨ tí ála awe -A13	'They have forgotten their way (of working) with iron.'

5.61.14. Two categories may profitably be discussed together, those of place and time. Both may also be expressed by na complements, but with a distinct difference in nuance. It may be said that the na phrase expresses an accidental or incidental place or time relationship, while the tí phrase expresses a much more essential relationship, with the idea of relative permanence included. Compare the examples given below:

zo na Bangui 'a man in Bangui' vs.
zo tí Bangui 'a man of Bangui'
kóbe na lá kúí 'food in the evening' vs.
kóbe tí lá kúí 'the evening food.'

In fact, the relationship of the na phrase to a preceding noun is so tentative that if there is any verb in the vicinity, the na phrase will relate to the verb, while a tí phrase remains related to the noun. Locative tí phrases are illustrated below (ex. 1-3), as well as temporal phrases (ex. 4-5).

1. lo fáa ákóngbá tí yá tí da kiríkiri -L162 'He smashed all the furnishings of the inside of the house every which way.'
2. ála fa lége tí voté na ámbéní zo tí sése -R3 'You've shown the way to vote to the other people of the earth.'
3. áwále tí Bangui -N78 'the women of Bangui'
4. na jeudi tí pɛkɔ́ -R7d 'on next Thursday'
5. huit heures tí ndápéréré -R2 'eight o'clock in the morning'

5.61.15. The remaining four categories of noun-tí-noun phrases are much less frequent in the corpus. (a) There is, for instance, what may be termed the "topical complement," following such nouns as tɛ́nɛ́ 'word' or the French nouvelle. Here, tí may be translated 'about' or 'concerning' (ex. 1-3). (b) Then there is the "relational" or "functional," in which a head noun designating an animate being is related by tí to a complement designating an activity, an institution, etc. (ex. 4-5). (c) There is what may be called the "destinative," in which tí may be overtranslated as 'designed for' or 'destined for' or 'used for' (ex. 6-9). (d) There is a group of examples in which there is a basic concept of quantity, including the notion of price or value (ex. 10-11).

1. tɛ́nɛ́ tí politique -R2 'the matter concerning politics'
2. tɛ́nɛ́ tí nzí tí mɔ -R1 'the story of your theft'
3. évangile tí lá ní só Jésus así gígí -R10 'the gospel about that day when Jesus went out'
4. zo tí lengé ní apíka li tí mɔ -A9 'The man attached to the lengé dance hit your head.'
5. á-église tí í amú na mɔ -L27 'our churches give you...'
6. aɛkɛ sára kɔa tí nginza -L162 'They are doing work for money.'
7. nginza tí mɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí lo -R1 'money for his child'
8. lá tí kótá bóngbi -R1 'the day for the big gathering.'
9. nzala tí ála sí asára mbi -L2 'Hunger for you is troubling me.'
10. avɔ ngunzá tí páta osió -A8 'She bought twenty francs' worth of greens.'
11. ála kú tanga tí tɛ́nɛ́ kɔ́ɛ́ -R7f 'Wait for all the rest of the story.'

5.61.16. There is a category of noun + tí + noun in which the head noun is so conventionalized that the entire construction may be termed a "prepositional expression." In most instances, na precedes the first noun, but in some cases the na is omitted when the noun has a close conventionalized relationship with a preceding verb. The nouns which are so used are:

devant (<French) (ex. 1)
gbɛ́ 'lower part' (ex. 2-3)
lé 'face' (ex. 4-5)
lége 'path' (ex. 6)
li 'head' (ex. 7-8)
mbáge 'side' (ex. 9)
ndó 'top' (ex. 10-11)
ndo 'place' (ex. 12)
pɛkɔ́ 'back' (ex. 13-14)
pópó 'middle' (ex. 15)
tɛ́rɛ́ 'body' (ex. 16-17)
yá 'belly' (ex. 18-19)
yángá 'mouth' (ex. 20)

The resulting na phrase (q.v. 5.32.20) enters into a verb phrase as a modifying complement (q.v. 11.11), with an idea of time, place, manner, means, and so forth.

1. í zía na devant tí yoró tí í -A37 — 'We place it before our medicine.'
2. mbi sí gígí na gbɛ́ tí kéké ní -A15 — 'I've come out from under the tree.'
3. á-fonctionnaire aɛkɛ na gbɛ́ tí mbi -R3 — 'The civil servants are under me (i.e. my authority).'
4. bi ngɔ́ tí mɔ na lé tí ngú -R10 — 'Thrust out your boat upon the surface of water.'
5. mbi ɛkɛ tɛnɛ (...) na lé tí ála kɔ́ɛ́ -R3 — 'I'm speaking before you all.'
6. akɛ wara ní gí na lége tí ngú -R4a — 'We get it only by means of water.'
7. ála fáa ngbanga ní na li tí Ngandawei awe -L27 — 'They've passed judgment on Ngandawei.'

3

8. mɔ kɛ dɛ́ kɔ́ngɔ́ na li tí lo -A49 'You yell at him.'
9. bɛ́ tí ála avurú na mbáge tí ázo vɔkɔ́ -R2 'Their liver is white (i.e. they are candid) towards Black People.'
10. mɔ goe zía na ndó tí table -A11 'You go put it on top of the table.'
11. ahǫ́ ndó tí mbi -N81 'It overcame me (lit. it passed over me).'
12. lo zía yąma só kóé na ndo tí camarade tí lo -J175 'He put all this meat at the place of his buddy.'
13. agoe na pɛkɔ́ tí kɔ́li -A42 'They followed the man.'
14. í tomba pɛkɔ́ tí ála -I55 'We chased after them.'
15. ála goe na pópó tí ádole só -A51 'They went among these elephants.'
16. agá na tɛ́rɛ́ tí dɔ́dɔ́ ní -A21 'They came beside the dance.'
17. akɛ zía na tɛ́rɛ́ tí mbi -R3 'You've put it beside me.'
18. ála kánga lo ngá na yá tí nzɛ ɔ́kɔ -L17 'They imprisoned him also within a month.'
19. mbi ɛkɛ na yá tí école -A44 'I'm in school.'
20. í sára na yángá tí ngaragé -A37 'We did it alongside the ngaragé place.'

5.61.20. A tí-noun phrase may, in a verb phrase (q.v. 11.14), serve several different functions. It may be a copulative complement (ex. 1) or an object (ex. 2). In addition, a tí-pronoun phrase may serve as a subject intensifier (ex. 3). In all of these cases, one may supply a noun of vague semantic content as a sort of putative head without changing either sense or syntactic function, but this is in no sense necessary. The construction without any head noun is termed a connective phrase (q.v. 10.40). It is of frequent occurrence, and is complete in itself.

1. mɔ pensé kóbe kóé aɛkɛ na galá ndo só gí tí mɔ? -C30 'Do you think all the food in the market here is yours?'
2. lo vɔ tí vingt francs -A8 'She bought twenty francs' worth.'
3. lo lángó tí lo na da -L27 'As for him, he sleeps in the house.'

5.61.30. A tí-noun phrase preceded by nothing may, on the one hand, be the subject of a verb (ex. 1), or, on the other hand, it may (ex. 2-4) enter into a pre-clausal construction (q.v. chp. 12). In this latter use, it may indicate time or some other circumstance affecting semantically the following verb, or it may be an expansion of the subject. A special use is in a sort of comparative construction with tongana (ex. 5). There are also a few examples (ex. 6) in which a tí-noun phrase enters into non-verbal constructions (q.v. chp. 14). As with other uses of such connective phrases (q.v. 10.40), in every case these phrases are used substantively.

1.	tí ákɔ́li akɛ sɔ ála míngi pɛpɛ -R4a	'Men's doesn't hurt them much.'
2.	gí tí áwále laá asɔ ála míngi só -R4a	'It's just the women's that hurts a lot.'
3.	tí lá só, í ekɛ báa -L175	'As for today's, we'll see.'
4.	mais tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi, í zía kpí tí sindi -A8	'But (according to the way of) my village, we put in sesame paste.'
5.	éré tí ála avú, tongana tí ámbɛ́ní zo pɛpɛ -R10	'Their names weren't beautiful like those of other people.'
6.	tí taá kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi laá -A8	'That's (the way) of my real village.'

5.62. Much less frequently (59 examples), tí relates a complement, which is an adjunctive substantively used, to a head. In almost all instances, the adjunctive in question is either a quality word of some sort, such as nzoní 'good' or mbírímbírí 'straight,' or else it is a time word such as fadesó 'now.'

In phrases in which the complement is an adjunctive, the head may be a noun, as it is in 48 out of 59 examples. In this kind of construction, the adjunctive may express some kind of attribution (ex. 1-3), a temporal relation (ex. 4), a sort of demonstration (ex. 5), or an interrogation (ex. 6-8). In the one instance in which it follows a nominalized verb (ex. 8) it expresses an interrogation. In the example where it follows another adjunctive (ex. 9) it expresses an attribution. Of the two cases in which tí-adjunctive follows a verb, one expresses interrogation, and the other time (ex. 10-11). In all seven of the cases in which the tí-adjunctive has no expressed head, it expresses time. Some of these (ex. 11) enter into verb phrases, some (ex. 12) are in pre-clausal constructions.

1.	mɔ fa yí tí nzoní na á mérɛngɛ́ tí mɔ -A49	'You teach good things to your children.'
2.	ndo tí nzoní kɔ́é tí Nzapá -F4	'the perfect place of God' (a Protestant religious expression)
3.	ázo tí sioní -L17	'evil people'
4.	yí tí giriri -A15	'the things of long ago'
5.	lége tí sɔ́ -I55	'the way of this... (i.e. this way)'
6.	só manière tí yɛ̨ -L162	'What sort of doings is this?'
7.	mɔ yí tí vɔ timbre tí ɔ́kɛ -L168	'You want to buy stamps worth how much?'
8.	só sárángó yí tí yɛ̨ -C31	'What kind of goings-on is that?'
9.	mbéní tí saleté aɛkɛ sí gígí -A13	'Another dirty one was coming out.'
10.	mɔ kɛ píka na yá tí yɛ̨ -R9b	'What do you pound it inside?'
11.	ahɔ̨́ tí giriri -R3	'It surpasses that of long ago.'
12.	tí fadesó, terrain ní ahúnzi awe -I55	'By now, the field is finished.'

5.63. Similar to the preceding constructions in which a noun complement was joined to its head by tí are those cases in which the complement is a nominalized verb (74 cases). Where the head is a noun (29/74 cases), the nominalized verb expresses such notions as purpose, occupation, activity, and so on, and may be considered a noun of action. In these cases this construction closely resembles the noun phrase. The head noun may bear either a subjective relationship to the nominalized verb (ex. 1) or an objective one (ex. 2). It may also express place or time (ex. 3-4). The same thing is true of the single example of a phrase with an adjunctive head (ex. 5). But when the head of the phrase is either a verb or a nominalized verb (45/74 cases), it is very hard if not impossible to discover any significant difference between the construction with a nominalized verb as complement and that with a verb. Thus the following two illustrations would seem to be exactly equivalent:

lo goe tí mú kéké
lo goe tí múngó kéké 'He went to get a stick.'

It behaves in every way like the other, and serves the same syntactic functions, as a complement of purpose (ex. 6-9), or a copulative complement after ɛkɛ 'to be' (ex. 10). They may occur immediately after the verb (ex. 6-7), or be separated from it by various other complements (ex. 8-9).

There are several examples of nominalized verbs occurring like nouns after prepositional expressions consisting of na and a conventionalized noun before tí (ex. 11). There is also one example of a nominalized verb in a pre-clausal construction (ex. 12).

1.	zo tí gíngó susu séngé -R10	'just a fisherman (lit. a man to hunt fish)'
2.	mɔ ɛkɛ na tɛ́nɛ́ tí tɛ́nɛ́ngó ní míngi -R4c	'You have a lot of things to say.'
3.	magasin tí kángó ákóngbá tí mɔ -R1	'the store to sell your goods'
4.	l'heure tí kíríngó tí í -N80	'the time of our return'
5.	kózo tí hǫ́ngó tí lo na Israel -R7a	'before his departure for Israel'
6.	goe tí tɔ́ngó kóbe na kɔ́li tí ála tí tɛ́ngó ní na midi -N78	'...go to cook food for their husbands to eat at noon.'
7.	ní goe tí múngó ní -F4	'He went to get it.'
8.	ála sára kámba tí ála tí fángó na yą́ma -L175	'They made their cords (i.e. snares) to kill animals with.'
9.	fadé lo zía mabɔ́kɔ tí lo na ngú tí mbɛ́tí, tí gbɔ́ngó na lé tí bulletin ní -R1	'He'll put his finger into ink (lit. water of paper) with which to seize the surface of the bulletin.'
10.	congé sɔ́ aɛkɛ tí múngó repos na zo tí kusára -R1	'This vacation is to give a rest to men of work.'
11.	lo kɛ merdé mɔ na lége tí fángó yáká -A49	'He pesters you about making a garden.'
12.	mais tí kíríngó ní na Bangui sɔ́, aɛkɛ ngangó míngi -N35	'But as for returning to Bangui, that was very hard.'

5.64. The connective tí marks verb phrases which function as modifiers of nouns or as complements in other verb phrases.

5.64.10. As complements of noun phrases, tí-marked verb phrases in some way describe or limit the noun. For the sake of convenience, one can classify the examples according to whether the head noun can be construed as the subject of the verb (ex. 1-2) or the object of the verb (ex. 3-4), or whether the verb can be construed as a limiting modifier of the noun (ex. 5-9).

1. yí tí sɔ í ɔ́kɔ akɛ pɛpɛ -R6 'There's not a single thing to hurt us.'
2. ázo tí sára wɛ̨, ála lɛkɛ wɛ̨ mbéní encore pɛpɛ -A13 'People who work with iron, they don't fix iron any more.'
3. mbéní yí tí tɛ na pɛkɔ́ ní aɛkɛ apɛ -A44 'There's nothing to eat after it.'
4. ... kámba ɔ́kɔ tí kánga na ngbundá tí lo ɔ́kɔ ... -L7 '... one rope with which to tie around his waist...'
5. nginza tí vɔ na yíngɔ́, mbi wara apɛ ngá -A44 'I also don't have money with which to buy salt.'
6. mbi sára kɔa tí passé bɔngɔ́ -I9 'I did the work of ironing clothes.'
7. lége tí fɔnɔ na camion aɛkɛ ngangó -L7 'Traveling by truck is difficult.'
8. lo hínga lége tí tó ngú -A49 'She knows how to draw water.'
9. lá tí vote aɛkɛ lá tí tiri pɛpɛ -R3 'Voting day is not a day to fight.'

5.64.20. As complements in verb phrases, the tí-marked verb phrases either indicate purpose (intent, goal, etc.) or simply act as constructions subordinate to the head verb. The latter use parallels the use of 'to' in such an English construction as 'He wants to go now' whose only function is to relate 'go' to 'wants.' The purposive use of tí is in most instances quite adequately translated by 'to,' but some sentences demand something as strong as 'in order to, for the purpose of,' etc.

The tí-marked phrases can either follow the head verb immediately (ex. 1-11) or be separated from it by some other complements (ex. 12-23). While this discussion is properly in the domain of verb phrases, q.v. 11.14, a better understanding of tí will result from an early exposure to its use. The most common occurrences are those separated from the verb by an object. In addition, the tí phrase may be preceded by a na phrase, by a na phrase and an object, by an object and a na phrase, or by a very few other miscellaneous complements. If there is any restriction as to what verbs can be followed by a tí phrase, it is probably a semantic one. There are some, however, which take a tí phrase more often than other verbs. These are gá 'to come,' goe 'to go,' hínga 'to know,' commencé 'to begin,' de 'to remain, continue,' língbi 'to be able,' ngbá 'to remain, continue,' and yí 'to want.' Even the verb ɛkɛ 'to be' can take a tí phrase complement, with or without other complements (ex. 24-27).

tí phrases as verb phrase complements, immediately following the head verb:

1.	mbi de tí mú kóli apɛ -C8	'I haven't got married yet.'
2.	mbi gá tí tɛ kóbe -R1	'I come to eat.'
3.	í ɛkɛ goe tí voté á-députté tí í -R3	'We are going to elect our deputies.'
4.	zía lo goe tí ká makala sí -I9	'Let her go sell makala.'
5.	ámbéní wále ahínga tí lɛkɛ yá tí da tí ála pɛpɛ -A8	'Some women don't know how to fix the inside of their houses.'
6.	mbi kɛ̨ tí fúta lo awe -R1	'I have refused to pay him.'
7.	í commencé tí lú yí da awe -R6	'We have begun to plant things there.'
8.	ála língbi tí báa yí só mɔ sára na ála -A49	'They can see what you do for them.'
9.	mbi ngbá tí kú -L27	'I continue to wait.'
10.	zo só ayí tí fáa mbi -R3	'the person who wants to kill me'
11.	ála yí tí goe na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí ála -A37	'They want to go to their village.'

tí phrases as verb phrase complements, separated from head verb:

12.	ála mú mbéni kété kóbe tí goe na ní -A48	'They obtained a little food to take it (along).'
13.	zo ahánda mɔ séngé tí fúti nginza tí mɔ apɛ? -C31	'Isn't the person tricking you for no reason to waste your money?'

14. mbi éré ála kóé tí gá tí votɛ́ -R3 'I call on you all to come to vote.'

15. lo dutí na yá tí ngɔ́ ní tí tɛnɛ tɛ́nɛ́ na ázo -R10 'He sat in the boat to speak to the people.'

16. mbi fa na mɔ tí má sí -L2 'I'm telling you so you can hear.'

17. ámamá agoe na ngonda tí mú makongó -A8 'Mothers go into the forest to get caterpillars.'

18. mbi kɛ mú na mɔ nginza tí goe na ní na wále tí mɔ -R1 'I'm giving you money to take it to your wife.'

19. mbi to na ála mbɛ́tí só tí húnda ála na tɛ́nɛ́ só -L171 'I send you this letter to ask you about this affair.'

20. ála fáa kɔ́ndɔ na tɛ́rɛ́ tí ála míngi míngi tí tɛ -A48 'They killed very many chickens of theirs to eat.'

21. mbi húnda ndá tí tɛ́nɛ́ só na Cécile tí má réponse ní -L171 'I ask for an explanation of this matter of Cécile so as to hear the answer.'

22. lo gá ndurú tí kúí -L7 'He's just about dead.'

23. ámbéní alɔ́ndó lá só tí goe na Paris -R7d 'Some left today to go to Paris.'

tí phrases as complements of the verb ɛkɛ 'to be':

24. mbi ɛkɛ na ngiá tí fa na mɔ nouvelle -L4 'I'm happy to tell you the news.'

25. kɔa tí fonctionnaire aɛkɛ tí sára kusára tí diplomatie -R3 'The work of government employees is to do the work of diplomacy.'

26. ákɔ́li aɛkɛ na mbáge aussi tí tɛ tí ála ngá -A8 'There were men beside it also to eat theirs.'

27. akɛ tɛ́nɛ́ tí mɔ tí sára potɔpɔ́tɔ -A42 'It's your responsibility to make beer.'

5.64.30. The dual function of tí phrases (i.e. as noun modifiers and verb complements) results in ambiguity, as one might expect, when a noun complement occurs between a head verb and a tí phrase. Thus, the sequence of words lége tí goe 'way to go' is not ambiguous below in the first sentence, where it can only be a noun phrase, but is so in the second:

1. lége tí goe na galá akɛ apɛ. 'There's no way of going to the market.'
2. mbi mú lége tí goe na galá. 'I set out for the market.' or 'I took the road which goes to the market.'

There are, however, surprisingly few ambiguous constructions in the corpus since the sense of the whole construction generally makes clear what is meant:

1. lo to ázo tí gí mɛ́rɛngɛ́ só. -L17 'He sent people to (i.e. for the purpose of) hunt for the child.'
2. lo sára kámba tí mú yąma tí sése. -L175 'He made a snare with which to catch terrestrial animals.'

There is at least one device for mitigating the ambiguities, and that is by separating the tí phrase from the rest of the verb phrase by a pause.

3. akánga gbánda, tí fáa yąma. -A50 'He tied up the net, for the purpose of killing animals.'
4. í kóé, í sára kɔa, tí lɛkɛ sése tí babá tí í. -R3 'All of us are working so as to improve the land of our fathers.'

5.65. The following tabulations show, both comprehensively and exhaustively, the frequency of all the types of constructions using tí.

Table 1. Condensed table of all constructions.

tí + noun phrases:		
noun + tí + noun	1862	
prepositional expressions	318	
verb + tí + noun	72	
nothing + tí + noun	29	
Total uses of tí + noun phrases		2281
tí + adjunctive phrases:		
noun + tí + adjunctive	48	
nominalized verb + tí + adjunctive	1	
adjunctive + tí + adjunctive . . .	1	
verb + tí + adjunctive	2	
nothing + tí + adjunctive	7	
Total uses of tí + adjunctive phrases		59

tí + nominalized verb phrases:		
noun + tí + nominalized verb . . .	29	
adjunct. + tí + nom. verb	1	
nom. verb + tí + nom. verb	3	
verb + tí + nominalized verb . . .	35	
prepositional expressions	5	
nothing + tí + nom. verb	1	
Total uses of tí + nominalized verb phrases . . .		74
tí + verb phrases:		
noun + tí + verb	33	
verb + tí + verb	498	
Total uses of tí + verb phrases		531
Grand total of all uses of tí		2945

Table 2. Tabulation according to the nature of the head.

noun head	1972	verb head	607
nominalized verb . .	4	prepositional expr. .	325
adjunctive	2	nothing	37
Total	2945		

Table 3. Kinds of noun + tí + noun phrases.

Kind of complement	Noun	Pronoun	Total
possession	204	821	1025
equation	94	0	94
attribution	185	133	318
topical	58	3	61
relational	20	4	24
destinative	80	16	96
quantitative	19	0	19
locative	162	0	162
temporal	63	0	63
prepositional expressions . .	248	70	318
Totals	1133	1047	2180

Table 4. Kinds of possessive complements.

A is part of B	103	265	368
A possesses B	60	247	307
A is related to B	41	309	350
Totals	204	821	1025

Table 5. Kinds of attributive complements.

A is a trait of B	19	9	28
B is a trait of A	106	0	106
A affects B	3	9	12
B effects A	57	115	172
Totals	185	133	318

Table 6. Frequency of prepositional expressions.

devant	1	ndo	7
gbɛ́	9	pɛkɔ́	45
lé	13	pópó	15
lége	21	tɛ́rɛ́	30
li	11	yá	123
mbáge	10	yángá	10
ndó	23		

Total of prepositional expressions . 318

Table 7. Kinds of verb + tí + noun phrases.

copulative complement	7	modifying complement	7
object	8	subject intensifier	49
na phrase	1		

Total of verb + tí + noun phrases . 72

Table 8. Kinds of noun + tí + adjunctive phrases.

attributive	31	demonstrative	1
temporal	9	interrogative	7

Total of noun + tí + adjunctive phrases . . . 48

Table 9. Kinds of noun + tí + verb phrases.

subjective	6	attributive	11
objective	2	miscellaneous	8
complement	6		

Total of noun + tí + verb phrases 33

Table 10. Kinds of verb + tí + verb phrases, tabulated according to the first verb.

bóngbi	3	língbi	50
commencé	42	lóndó	2
de	10	ngbá	12
gá	32	yí	87
goe	36	ɛkɛ	32
hínga	9		

Total of verb + tí + verb phrases . . . 315

verb + complement(s) + tí + verb . . . 183

Total of tí-verb phrases in verb phrases 531

5.70. títɛnɛ

The connective títɛnɛ is, by comparison with na and tí, far less common (only occurring 235 times), but in certain texts, especially radio texts, it is extensively used. This fact is to be correlated with the observation that every documented use of títɛnɛ is by a town-dweller. Country folk do not seem to use it unless they have had considerable contact with town-folk. This connective therefore is possibly one mark of the difference between two varieties of Sango.

The function of títɛnɛ is to join a clause to a preceding clause (i.e. in complex sentences); in only a few instances does títɛnɛ occur elsewhere, i.e. standing at the beginning of a sentence or before a non-verbal construction within a single sentence. The clauses that títɛnɛ introduces have two characteristics: they are in some way or another dependent on the preceding clause and they generally begin with nothing but a subject.

A slight pause generally accompanies títɛnɛ, most often following it, but again sometimes preceding it or even both preceding and following it. When the pause precedes títɛnɛ, the connective is seen to be far removed from the verb of the preceding clause. This pause does not seem to have any significant function.

The derivation of this connective is obviously the connective tí plus the verb tɛnɛ 'to say.' Attempts to make títɛnɛ the same as the construction tí tɛnɛ are accompanied by problems in meaning and syntactic analysis. It is more convenient to call it a connective with little or no lexical meaning. In only a couple of sentences can it possibly be translated as 'that is to say' or 'in other words,' but even these translations can be derived in part from the whole context. It can be conveniently compared to the English word 'to' which joins verbs to other constructions, a fact which is amply illustrated below. Complex sentences with títɛnɛ are identical in meaning with either (a) sentences with hypotactically related clauses, (b) with sentences where the second clause is introduced by the connective sí, or (c) with sentences where a verb phrase is introduced by the connective tí. E. g.

a) mbi de títɛnɛ mbi gá wále apɛ = mbi de mbi gá wále ápɛ 'I haven't become a woman yet' N8o

b) mɔ kɛ̨ títɛnɛ ála súru li tí mabɔ́kɔ tí mɔ = mɔ kɛ̨ sí ála súru li tí mabɔ́kɔ tí mɔ 'You refuse to let them cut your finger' R4b

c) ála yí títɛnɛ asára kɔa nzoní pɛpɛ = ála yí tí sára kɔa nzoní pɛpɛ 'They don't want to work well' R2

Because there are so many examples of the second type and because títɛnɛ is so often accompanied by a slight pause, it seems reasonable to conjecture that one of the functions of this connective is to permit the breaking up of a sentence at a point where anticipated elements of the verb phrase would increase the complexity of the sentence. It permits the speaker, in a sense, to make a new beginning. Its weakness is that it leads to clauses which are not well tied together, a feature characteristic of an extemporaneous translation of a French text (viz. R2).

While there do not appear to be any restrictions on the kinds of clauses títɛnɛ can follow, a short list of verbs frequently occurs in the first clause. They are: de 'to remain,' ɛkɛ 'to be,' goe 'to go,' hínga 'to know,' húnda 'to ask,' commencé 'to begin,' língbi 'to be able,' and yí 'to want.' Note that whenever ɛkɛ na indicates possession (ex. 23-24) the following clause is negative.

1. lo goe títɛnɛ lo báa kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ ní ká -R7a	'He went to see the country over there.'
2. í yí títɛnɛ í sára kótá yáká tí avion -R2	'We want to make a great airport.'

3.	mbi hínga zo ká títɛnɛ mbi to éré tí lo pɛpɛ -L3	'I don't know anyone there whose name I could send.'
4.	(kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ ní) ahínga mbi títɛnɛ mbi dutí ká apɛ -N8o	'The town doesn't appeal (lit. doesn't know me) to me for me to stay there.'
5.	í commencé títɛnɛ í dɔrɔkɔ dole ní -I55	'We began to butcher the elephant.'
6.	mbi húnda na ála kóé títɛnɛ ála sára mbɛ́tí tí ála -R9b	'I ask you all to write letters.'
7.	kobéla ní alíngbi títɛnɛ a-ça va pɛpɛ -R4c	'The sickness couldn't get well.'
8.	ála língbi títɛnɛ ála kírí na pɛkɔ́ apɛ -R9b	'They can't go back.'
9.	fadé lo língbi títɛnɛ kaméla amú lo -R2	'Shame will be able to seize him.'
10.	lɔ́sɔ, nzó, ananas angbá títɛnɛ í lú yí da míngi -R6	'Rice, millet, and pineapples remain so that we will plant a lot of things in it.'
11.	ní laá í mú wángó na ázu ní míngi títɛnɛ ála manqué pɛpɛ -R4b	'That's why we encourage everyone strongly not to miss.'
12.	ála kɛ mú ázaza títɛnɛ asɔ na í -R2	'They used to take switches to hurt us with.'
13.	il faut í sára mbéní kótá yáká títɛnɛ í lú yí da -R6	'We must make a great field to plant things in.'
14.	mɔ éré ázo títɛnɛ ála gá -A21	'You call the people so that they may come.'
15.	ní laá sí ní ngbá na lo kété títɛnɛ ní hɔ̨́ na Israel -R7a	'That's why he stayed with him a little before going on to Israel.'
16.	kobéla tí ála alíngbi títɛnɛ adutí encore pɛpɛ títɛnɛ kobéla ní akpé. -R4c	'Their sickness may not remain any more, but the sickness may go away.'
17.	mbi húnzi tɛ́nɛ́ títɛnɛ mbi tɛnɛ na ála awe -R6	'I've finished up the affair, I've told [it] to you.'

18.	ázo míngi aéré mbi títɛnɛ mbi goe mbi tɛ kóbe na place tí ála, títɛnɛ í na ála kóé í bóngbi tɛ́rɛ́, í yɔ̨́ samba lége ɔ́kɔ -R2	'Many people invited me to go eat food at their place, so that they and I might assemble, to drink wine together.'
19.	akɛ títɛnɛ í sára kɔa tongasó híɔ híɔ pɛpɛ -R2	'It's not as if we could do a job like this in a great hurry.'
20.	tongana mɔ má éré tí mɔ apɛ, akɛ títɛnɛ bɛ́ tí mɔ sí asára mbáná na ní pɛpɛ -R9b	'If you don't hear your name, don't let your liver get upset about it.'
21.	infirmier akɛ na ála títɛnɛ kobéla tí ála alíngbi títɛnɛ adutí encore pɛpɛ -R4c	'They don't have a nurse so that their sicknesses may go away.'
22.	akɛ nzoní títɛnɛ France amú na í nginza lá kóé lá kóé tongasó pɛpɛ -R2	'It isn't good for France to give us money forever like this.'
23.	mbi kɛ na droit títɛnɛ mbi goe mbi báa Bangui apɛ -I55	'I don't have the right to go see Bangui.'
24.	mbi kɛ na mbéní kɔa títɛnɛ mbi goe na Bangui tí sára apɛ -I55	'I don't have a job to go do in Bangui.'
25.	tongana lo píka mɔ, tongana mɔ kɛ ngangó mɔ píka lo. títɛnɛ tongana ní gá na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí sára tɛrɛ na yángá tí commandement, commandement akę lége ní awe. -A37	'When he hits you, if you are strong you hit him. And so when you come to the town to tell the story in front of the authorities, the authorities will reject the case.'
26.	kɔa tí lo só aɛkɛ ngangó míngi. títɛnɛ mbi fa na ála kótá kɔa tí inspecteur só nzoní. -R1	'This job of his is very hard. And so I am explaining this great work of the inspector thoroughly.'

5.80. tongana

tongana is both a conditional-temporal and comparative connective. Because of the semantic differences, these two uses are discussed in two separate sections below. In addition to the semantic difference, there is a major one of distribution: when tongana is used conditionally or temporally, it almost always occurs in a clause (i.e. the protasis) which precedes the apodosis. It is possible, of course, to consider the conditional-temporal tongana as a different word from the comparative one and either list it separately in this section on connectives or make it a unique clause-initial word. Neither alternative seems to have compelling advantages over the one adopted here. The last syllable of tongana may possibly be the connective na and the first part may be the same as that in tongasó 'thus,' but since today the combination would be syntactically unique and semantically indefensible, the connective is identified as a non-analysable word.

As with ngbangatí (q.v. 5.40), this connective is pronounced in several different ways. The phonetic transcription of those which occurred in the texts is given below, where the dropping of the parentheses will produce yet another form. In this grammar it is always given in the normalized form tongana.

toŋga(na)	toŋana		
tɔŋga(na)	tɔŋana	tɔ̨na, tɔ̨nɛ	tɔ̨ą
taŋgana		tąna	tą(ą)
dɔŋgana			

5.81. As a conditional-temporal connective tongana is usually translated 'when, while, if,' etc. This is not the only way of indicating these meaning categories in the language. Certain paratactic constructions have similar meanings. See 15. 21.12a. . One of the errors of people whose native languages are French or English is to ignore these constructions and use tongana for all of the similar conjunctions in their native languages. Another error is to put the tongana clause at the end of the sentence. It occurs in this position only in letters written by people who have been exposed to the Sango of English-speaking missionaries. See ex. 11-12.

tongana occurs with clauses marked for completed action (q.v. 9.30) and for continued action (q.v. 9.30), but there is no attested example of tongana occurring in a clause marked for future time by fadé (q.v. 9.10). Its position in a clause is that immediately preceding the subject and therefore first in the clause. However, various pre-clausal elements (q.v. chp. 12) can precede or follow tongana (ex. 7-10).

1.	tongana zo só adé éré tí mbi pepɛ, mbi tɛ kóbe tí lo apɛ -F7	'If this person doesn't call my name, I won't eat his food.'
2.	tongana mɔ yí tí tɛ na gɔzɔ, mɔ tɛ -A8	'If you want to eat it with manioc, you (can) eat it (this way).'
3.	tongana mbi tɛ ngunzá, mbi tɛ mbéní yí da -A44	'When I eat manioc-leaves, I eat something else with it.'
4.	tongana midi alíngbi, kɔ́li tí lo agá tí tɛ -A8	'When it's noon, her husband comes to eat.'
5.	tongana lo sí awe, lo báa kɔ́tá yąma tí mɛ́rɛngɛ́ só -L175	'When he had arrived, he saw this child's big animal.'
6.	tongana lo píka zuru kóé awe, lo mɛ́ kóbe -A42	'After she has pounded all the mil,, she mixes the dough.'
7.	nzoní, tongana mɔ yí tí tó na vin só, mɔ goe ... -R9a	'It's a good idea, when you want to cook with this wine, for you to go ...'
8.	giriri tongana mbi ngbá kété masía, mbi yí tí goe l'école -A49	'A long time ago, when I was still a young girl, I wanted to go to school.'
9.	na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi, tongana ámamá agoe na ngonda tí mú makongó... -A8	'In my village, when mothers go to the forest to collect caterpillars....'
10.	tongana lá só mɔ gwe mɔ éré ngú sí mɔ fáa susu apɛ ... -R9b	'If today you should go and dip water (for catching fish) and should not catch any fish....'
11.	mbi ɛkɛ da tongana mɔ tɛnɛ só -L27	'I was there when you said that.'
12.	fadé mbi báa mɔ tongana mɔ sí ánde na Bangui -L3	'I will see you when you arrive in Bangui.'

5.82. As a comparative connective tongana marks equivalence or approximation. Its translation is usually 'as, like' or 'about.'

5.82.10. This connective is in construction almost exclusively with noun phrases (including their equivalents, e.g. tí phrases, q.v. 10.40). It can, however, precede a clause. The construction introduced by tongana almost always follows another construction of which it is a part. The exceptions are noted below. Its usual place is the verb phrase, but it may modify either the subject (ex. 1-3), the predicate (ex. 4-9), or some complement (e.g. time, object, quality, ex. 10-15). The few instances of its serving to modify a noun are ambiguous, and are not given here.

1.	í ɛkɛ tongana turúgu -R3	'We are like soldiers.'
2.	gángó tí mérɛngé tí Nzapá aɛkɛ tongana mbéní finí yí sí ázo kóé ayí tí gá tí báa lo -R10	'The coming of the child of God is like a brand new thing which all people want to come to see.'
3.	ála bóngbi tongana 245 -L2	'About 245 of them gathered.'
4.	yá tí mbi asúku, akonɔ tongana ballon -N81	'My belly swelled up, it became big like a balloon.'
5.	mɔ gá tongana moniteur -R7e	'You will become like an instructor.'
6.	li tí mérɛngé ní a-tourné tongana kobéla tí ngbálo -L27	'The head of the child turned just like the sickness of apoplexy.'
7.	bɛ́ tí ála avɔkɔ́ tongana píndírí tí wá -R2	'Their livers are black like coals of fire.'
8.	kobéla asára lo tongana tí giriri pɛpɛ -L27	'Sickness is not bothering them as formerly.'
9.	mbi kɛ sára tɛ́nɛ́ tongana mérɛngé -R1	'I'm talking like a child.'
10.	fadé mérɛngé tí mɔ aɛkɛ sioní tongana mɔ -L17	'Your child will be bad like you.'
11.	lo de ngangó tongana mérɛngé só ade na ngangó tí lo kóé -R10	'He remained strong like a youth who retains all his strength.'
12.	ála báa í tongana yạma pɛpɛ -R2	'They don't consider us animals.'
13.	lo mú ála tongana áita tí lo -R10	'He took them as his brothers.'
14.	í sára ákótá lége tongana lége tí train -R2	'We'll make a great road like the road for a train.'
15.	mɔ fa na ála lége tí nzoní, ála báa tongana nzoní yí -A49	'Teach them good ways, and they will consider them as good things.'

5.82.20. Although tongana introduces clauses, this use is uncommon. What usually functions in its place is a construction introduced by só (q.v. 15.21.12 b). The só construction might be thought of as a special kind of substantive phrase.

1. mɔ mu yoró ní na l'heure só tongana afa na mɔ -R4c — 'You take the medicine at this time, just as they have shown you.'
2. mbi yí ála kóé agoe tí voté tongana só ála voté kózo ní -R3 — 'I want all of you to go vote just as you voted before.'
3. il faut asára kɔa na ngangó tongana só gouvernement atene -R6 — 'They must do the work vigorously just as the government says.'

5.82.30. Two set phrases in which tongana occurs are lége ɔ́kɔ tongana 'as, in the same way, along with, etc.' and tongana yę 'how?' Like tongana só, lége ɔ́kɔ tongana can also stand between clauses. The second expression needs some comment. While it occurs like other tongana phrases in the verb phrase (where it modifies the verb), it can also be one of the constituents of a verbless sentence, equational or exclamatory (where the verb ɛkɛ can be supplied). Moreover, although it is given the simple gloss 'how?' its translation varies considerably with the context. Where there is the verb sára 'to do,' one can read 'What can one do?' or 'What will happen?' and so forth. In other places one can read 'What is the reason for...?' 'How is it that...?' 'What do you mean (by saying that...)?' and so forth. In these latter instances one is calling in question what he has just heard.

1. lo sára yí ní lége ɔ́kɔ tongana mérɛngé — 'He did the thing just like a child.'
2. áwále afáa yáká lége ɔ́kɔ tongana ákɔ́li afáa yáká — 'Women make gardens just like men make gardens.'
3. mɔ gá citoyen tongana yę -R6 — 'How did you become a citizen?'
4. mɔ pensé tongana yę -R1 — 'What do you think?'
5. mɔ kę tongana yę -R1 — 'How can you refuse?'
6. mɔ tene akɛ tí mɔ tongana yę -C29 — 'Why did you say it was yours?'
7. mbi wara mbéní nouvelle tí ála pɛpɛ fadesó tenetí nzɛ otá tongana yę -L5 — 'How come I haven't received any news from you now for three months?'

8. tɛrɛ atɛnɛ, fadé ní sára tongana yę -F4 'Spider said, "What'll we do?"'

9. kusára tí mbi tongana yę -I41 'How is the work?'

1o. tongana yę sɔ́ -I9 'How's that?'

5.82.4o. Occurrences of tongana initial in a clause (except for tongana yę which has already been discussed) are rare. Of the three following examples drawn from the corpus, number 2 is an obvious translation of the French quant à vous and number 3 is probably a loan translation of comme.

1. na tí mɔ, tongana Ramona, lo ça va? -L4 'And as for yours, like Ramona, is she well?'

2. tongana tí ála, áíta tí mbi á-centrafricain -R2 'Now as for you, my brothers the Central Africans...'

3. tongana lá kɔ́ɛ́, ála má musique -R9a 'Just like every day, listen to music.'

5.9o. wala

wala (or, walá) is a connective whose primary function is to combine alternative or correlative elements. The derived functions, less frequent and more difficult to describe in a few words, are treated separately below. It most often occurs before the second and each succeeding element but occasionally it may introduce the first element as well; less frequently does it occur only with the first, except with its derived functions where its alternative function is less obvious. There exists a small residue whose function can not be described because of the indeterminate nature of the sentences in which they occur.

5.91. The alternative-correlative function of wala is clearly seen in the following examples, where it combines noun adjunctives (ex. 1-3), noun phrases (ex. 4-5), phrases with na and tí (ex. 6-7), and clauses (ex. 8-1o). Where there are no two correlative constructions it is sometimes difficult to translate wala. One nevertheless feels that other options are suggested by the occurrence of the word. This option can sometimes be suggested by the expressions 'perhaps, shall one say' or 'for example' (ex. 11-15).

1. sɔ́ nzoní wala nzoní pɛpɛ -L2 'Is that good or not good?'

2. ála bóngbi na dimanche 1oo, wala 2oo, wala 9o -L27 'They meet on Sunday, a hundred, or two hundred, or ninety.'

3.	li tí ála míngi, wala bale otá, wala bale osió, wala bale ukú kóɛ́ -R3	'Many of them, perhaps thirty, perhaps forty, perhaps fifty.'
4.	akɛ mú na mɔ, wala quinine, wala piqûre -R4d	'They'll give you either a pill or a shot.'
5.	ámbunzú só akɛ ge na République Centrafricaine, wala só akɛ na Afrique -R2	'Those White People who are here in the Central African Republic, [in other words] or those who are in Africa.'
6.	na République Centrafricaine wala na Bangui -R2	'in the Central African Republic or in Bangui'
7.	lo mú mbéní nginza tí kóbe tí vɔ na bière, wala tí goe tí báa mbadi, wala tí vɔ na mbéní yí tí lo -L162	'He takes some of the food money to buy beer, or to go gamble, or to buy something for himself.'
8.	atɛnɛ, só akɛ ngangó, wala só vɛní akɛ ngangó apɛ -R9b	'He said, is this hard, or else isn't this hard?'
9.	ála goe tí sukúla bɔngɔ́ na yá tí ngú wala ála goe tí sára ágɔzɔ tí ála na yá tí ngú -R4a	'They go to wash clothes in the river, or else they go to prepare their manioc in the river.'
10.	mɔ goe mbéní ndo, wala mɔ ɛkɛ da bíaní? -L5	'Have you gone elsewhere, or are you still really there?'
11.	mɔ kɛ mú yoró ní ngbii, wala docteur atɛnɛ, mɔ mú piqûre bale ɔ́kɔ na óse -R4d	'You take the medicine for a while, possibly the doctor says you should take twelve shots.'
12.	míngi akɛ goe, wala tí bángó yí tongana ngú tí Gbutu só akɛ tí na ngangó só -R2	'Many go, for example, to see something like the water at Gbutu which falls with such force.'
13.	mɔ língbi títɛnɛ mɔ kę lége tí goe tí ɛ́rɛ́ngó ngú pɛpɛ. wala hínga apɛ, na mbéní devinette tí pɛkɔ́ ánde, fadé ála kɛ wara -R9b	'You can't refuse to go bail water. Who knows, perhaps, another later on, you'll win.'

14. tongana mɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí mbi ɛkɛ da, fadé ála goe école. wala mɛ́rɛngɛ́ wále kóé, fadé lo goe gí na école -A49	'When I have children, they will go to school. Even girls also, they will just go to school.'
15. mbi tɛ kóbe na place tí ála wala na ndo tí ála [an obvious substitution of a Sango for a French word] -R2	'I eat at their place, or rather at their place.'

5.92. In final position wala marks a question: the speaker as it were puts one alternative to his listener expecting him to reject it or to supply the other one. None of the question contours has to occur at the end of such a sentence.

tongana mɔ tɛ ŋgunzá, mɔ tɛ susu mélangé na ní wala -A44	'When you eat greens, do you eat fish mixed with it, or not?'

Chapter 6

NOUNS

Words designated by the name "nouns" have the following characteristics:

1. They can be pluralized by the prefixation of á- (q.v. 6.40).
2. They can take as modifiers any of the adjunctives listed in 4.10, 4.20.
3. They can occur in phrases with na and tí (q.v. 10.40).
4. They can function as subjects, objects, and temporal or spatial words in predications.

These are the characteristics of the class as a whole; groups of words or individual words may have their own restrictions.

6.10. Classes

The nouns can be subclassed with the following result:

1. Animate nouns (because they more frequently are pluralized and referred to with the personal pronouns than inanimate nouns).
2. Inanimate nouns (because they are not usually pluralized nor referred to in pronominal form).
3. Proper nouns (which are like animate nouns except that they are not usually modified either by the adjunctives or with a tí phrase).
4. Temporal and spatial words (which may take modifiers but do not function as subjects of predications).

Except for the category of plural number, which is marked by the prefix á-, no other semantic or grammatical category is represented with the noun itself. Others are achieved by modification with adjunctives or phrase construction. For example, male and female are distinguished by added kɔ́li and wâle respectively to the nouns.

6.20. Derivation

Derivation of nouns is achieved only by the suffixation of verbs with -ngó. More than the verb is nominalized: the whole verb phrase, including its complements, functions substantively. (For discussion and illustration see 6.30.) Other non-nouns which are used as nouns are advisedly omitted from the class of nouns. It is best to talk of this or that word or construction functioning substantively. "Substantives" are therefore words from other word classes which in a particular construction function as nouns do. The following kinds of words and constructions can function substantively:

1. Verbs.
2. Adjunctives (with or without the adjunctive ní).
3. tí phrases

What appears to be compounding in Sango is in reality abbreviated noun phrases with the connective tí omitted. Every such phrase, no matter what its frequency may be, is equally acceptable with the connective. These noun phrases are those where one noun is semantically a modifier of the other. One can properly assume that such noun phrases are predictable: any much-used phrase consisting of noun + tí + noun can probably occur also as noun + noun. This is true because similar constructions occur in the indigenous languages of the area (e.g. Gbaya and Ngbandi). Here follow a few examples:

lé ngú 'surface of the water'
ngú lé 'tears' (lit. 'water of eye')
da Nzapá 'church' (lit. 'house of God')
kɔ́á yángá 'beard' (lit. 'hair of mouth')
mbé ngú 'other side of stream'
kɔ́li kɔ́ndɔ 'rooster' (lit. 'man chicken')
mérɛngé wále 'daughter, girl' (lit. 'child female')
yá da 'inside the house' (lit. 'belly house')
mbɛ́tí nginza 'pay record, any paper on which money matters are recorded'
párá kɔ́ndɔ 'chicken egg'

6.30. -ngɔ́

The suffix -ngɔ́ is added to verb stems so as to make out of them (and the whole phrase of which they are the head) substantives. Like the English gerund, these noun-like verbal constructions lack grammatical subjects but can comprise objects, connective phrases, and other complements of time or place, etc. They are otherwise timeless since the words which mark futurity, imperfective action, and completed action do not occur in them. The examples below have been chosen to illustrate different kinds of nominalized verb phrases, but no further analysis is made of them.

Verbs nominalized by -ngó have the tone of the suffix, i.e. high. Polysyllabic words likewise have all high tones, but verbs with final identical vowels (e.g. báa 'to see') lose the final vowel with the suffixation (bángó 'seeing'). This description is true for some speakers, but for others it must be said that mid tone occurs on the nominalized verb, including the suffix. Low tone, however, never seems to occur. Likewise, polysyllabic stems sometimes do not change or if they do, they change in different ways (e.g. wɔ́kɔ 'to be soft' > wɔkɔ́ngó 'softness,' sukúla 'to wash' > sukúlángó 'washing'). A detailed study of these changes has not been made. At any rate, it seems advisable to choose one valid pattern regardless of the various equivalent possibilities.

Likewise, the quality of the vowel of the suffix has been normalized in the transcription -ngó. Both the vowels o and ɔ occur (with the latter apparently occurring more frequently), sometimes interchangeably, sometimes in harmony with the vowel of the stem (o with o and e, ɔ elsewhere), and sometimes consistently one or the other (e.g. as in the speech of one town adolescent who said tóngɔ́ 'drawing water' and tɔ́ngɔ́ 'cooking').

Nominalized verbs are used in three ways: (a) as ordinary nouns taking the plural marker á- and being capable of possession (q.v. 6.40 and 5.62; ex. 1-14), (b) following the connective tí as a complement of a verb in the same way that a verb can occur (q.v. 5.62; ex. 15-22), and (c) to intensify the meaning of the main verb, discussed below. The use (b) is apparently identical with that of a simple verb phrase in this same position. It too marks purpose or intent. This use separates -ngó nouns from all other nouns which can not occur in tí phrases in this environment, i.e. following a verb, with a similar meaning. It should be noted that -ngó nouns do not ever seem to occur as described under (b) without either some kind of complement or the noun adjunct ní (q.v. 4.21.10).

1.	ála sára kámba tí ála tí fángó na yąma -L175	'They made themselves snares with which to kill animals.'
2.	kóbe tí tɛ́ngó tí Bata so aɛkɛ ngunzá -A44	'Food for eating (here at this village of) Bata is manioc greens.'

3.	mbi ɛkɛ tí mbi gí zo tí gíngó ásusu séngé -R10	'I'm just an ordinary fisherman.'
4.	zo tí gíngó yoró na mbi, sí mbi soigné na ní, aɛkɛ pɛpɛ -L186	'There is nobody to look for medicine for me with which I can treat myself.'
5.	mɔ kɛ na tɛ́nɛ́ tí tɛ́nɛ́ngó ní míngi apɛ?	'You have much to say, don't you?'
6.	l'heure tí kíríngó tí í álíngbi awe -N80	'It's time for us to go.'
7.	na pɛkɔ́ tí bángó ní ... -L175	'And having looked ...'
8.	fadé mɔ sára bɛ́ nzoní na síngó tí mɔ na sése tí RCA -L3	'You will be kind on your arrival in the country of the Central African Republic.'
9.	sɔ́ tɔ́ngó yí tí áwále laá -A11	'That's cooking things of women (i.e. how women cook things).'
10.	mbi yí tí mbi gíngó tɛ́nɛ́ pɛpɛ -C30	'I don't like looking-for-trouble.'
11.	vɔ́ngó yí na mbi agá fángó tɛ́rɛ́? -C30	'Buying things from me has become a cause for showing off?'
12.	mbi kɛ mú wángó na ázo -R4b	'I'm giving advice to people.'
13.	pémbɛ́ tí mɔ angbá na kángángó ní -A9	'Your teeth are still shut.'
14.	...tongana gángó tí mɔ vení -L27	'... like your own coming...'
15.	lo ngbá tí fángó yáká -L186	'He continues to make gardens.'
16.	mbi hínga tí sárángó ní na Sango ngá -I39	'I know how to do it (i.e. read) in Sango also.'
17.	mɔ língbi tí kę tí fútángó lo pɛpɛ -R1	'You can't refuse to pay him.'
18.	congé sɔ akɛ tí múngó repos na zo tí kusára -R1	'This vacation is for the purpose of giving rest to workmen.'
19.	mɔ gá tí vɔ́ngó kóbe na galá -C30	'You come to buy food in the market.'
20.	lo kɛ na congé otá tí múngó ní -R1	'He has three vacations to take.'

21. tongana mɔ yí tí vɔ́ngó ní... -C30 'If you want to buy ...'

22. í sára ngú otá, na mbi ngbá sárángó école lá kóé -N81 'We stayed three years and I was going to school all the time.'

The use described under (c) is achieved by repeating the main verb of the clause in the nominalized form (ex. 23-30). It can be looked upon as a form of reduplication. Like reduplication in so many languages in the world this one too has the function of an augmentative (like 'very') or intensifier. Another use is that of excluding events other than the one specified by the main verb. The -ngó nouns with this function can immediately follow the main verb or be separated from it by other complements in the verb phrase, but in no case does it ever take any modifiers (as a noun would) or complements (as a verb would).

23. mbi vɔ vɔ́ngó pɛpɛ -A40 'I didn't buy it (because someone gave it to me).'

24. tɛ́rɛ́ tí mɔ azá zángó -R7e 'Your body shines brightly (i.e. is in very good health).'

25. dole ní akpé kpéngó -I55 'The elephants really ran away.'

26. ámɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí kɔ́li así síngó na ndo só -R6 'Boys just filled this place up.'

27. mbi yɔ́rɔ yɔ́rɔ́ngó na oignon na tomate kóé -C31 'I fried it with onions and tomatoes.'

28. mɔ tɔ́ na yá tí ngú tɔ́ngó -A8 'You cook it in water.'

29. ázo avɔ gí vɔ́ngó -L11 'People just buy it (i.e. they don't subscribe to the paper).'

30. mbi hǫ́ tí mbi hǫ́ngó -N80 'I went on my way.'

6.40. Pluralization

Plurality in the nouns is marked by the prefix á-, but plurality is by no means an obligatory category. The plural marker is being called a prefix only because it is morphologically bound to other words. But since there is no phonological reason for describing it as an affix, and since there are other words in the language which are morphologically bound to other words, such as tí, it is obvious that its description as an affix is arbitrary.

Even where there is reference to specific objects whose number is known, plurality is not necessarily marked. No attempt is here made to predict the occurrence or non-occurrence of the plural marker in the language except for the following general remarks. It appears that if the number of the objects is known, or assumed to be known, the marking of plurality is avoided. On the other hand, redundancy occurs in the noun phrase where plurality is marked both by á- and by a postposed noun modifier such as the numerals, míngi 'much,' and kóé 'all.' What is more significant is the fact that it is the animate nouns, rather than the inanimate ones, which are most frequently pluralized. This tendency to avoid the pluralization of inanimate nouns is, incidentally, characteristic of some other languages of the area, e.g. Gbaya. But these can not be made responsible for this feature in Sango, for it is found in too many texts of different people. Some examples of pluralized animate and inanimate nouns are ex. 1-12.

In a noun phrase where two nouns are joined by tí, it is uncommon for both nouns to be pluralized. But here also there is too little data to permit making a statement of maximum validity. Nevertheless, the tendency again is to pluralize the animate possessor noun of an inanimate possessed noun. See ex. 13-17.

1.	ní laá sí mbi tɛnɛ ála kóé, ákɔ́li, na áwále... -R2	'This is why I tell all of you, men and women....'
2.	ázo tí lo ayí lo míngi -I39	'His people liked him much.'
3.	í´bóngbi´tɛ́rɛ́ ná á-français -R2	'We unite with the French.'
4.	áSango vɛní akɛ fáa susu na gbánda -I39	'The Sango people are the ones who kill fish with nets.'
5.	í goe wara ádole -I55	'We went and found elephants.'
6.	mbi língbi tí kę á-famille... pɛpɛ -N35	'I can't reject my relatives.'
7.	mɔ hínga áwa tí Bangui apɛ -C31	'You don't know the inhabitants of Bangui.'
8.	á-bon ni angbá -L11	'The debts remain.'
9.	áyí tí vundú atí na ndó mbi... míngi -L7	'Many grievous things fell on me.'
10.	lo fáa ákóngbá tí yá tí da -L162	'He destroyed the interior furnishings of the house.'

11. na yá tí á-bar ɔ́kɔ ɔ́kɔ -R7f 'in each one of the bars'

12. ángunzá, ágɔzɔ, yɛ̨. kóé aɛkɛ. só kóé kóbe tí yáká. -R9b 'Manioc leaves, manioc, no matter what. There's everything. All this is garden food.'

13. vacciné mabɔ́kɔ tí ázo -R4b 'vaccinate peoples' arms'

14. mɔ má gɔ́ tí ámakáko ní -A29 'You hear the cries of the monkeys.'

15. goe tí súru ndó tí ámabɔ́kɔ tí ázo só -R4b 'go to vaccinate the arms of people'

16. ála kú tanga tí tɛ́nɛ́ kóé...na yángá ti ámbunzú -R7f 'Wait for the remainder of all the news in the White Man's language.'

17. ála goe na pópó tí ádole só -A50 'They go into the midst of these elephants.'

The plural prefix occurs with the following substantives: nouns (including personal names and nominalized verbs), ante-noun adjunctives when they are used substantively, and the substitute yɛ̨ 'what?' (These are illustrated by ex. 18-20 and 21-24 respectively.) By "occur" is here meant "to be in immediate construction with;" the use of á- in a noun phrase is further treated below. The use of á- with personal names adds the meaning 'so-and-so and those accompanying him' (a feature which is not only characteristic of Gbaya but also of some other African languages). The pluralization of yɛ̨ has the meaning 'whatever things, any other things, so forth' and comes at the end of a list of things.

18. átɛ́nɛ́ngó tɛ́nɛ́ tí í -R2 'our talking'

19. áwɔ́kɔ́ngó ní 'the soft ones'

20. áNgunzapa aɛkɛ gá na ála ká -I55 'Ngunzapa and the others are coming over there.'

21. ámbéní adú mɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí wále -L17 'Some bore daughters.'

22. ámbéní míngi ahínga tí tɔ́ ngunzá pɛpɛ -A8 'Many don't know how to cook manioc leaves.'

23. lo mú ámbéní -R10 'He took some.'

24. fadé mɔ wara ádole, ágɔ́gɔ́á, átágba, áyɛ̨. 'You'll find elephants, buffaloes, kob antelope, and other things.'

When a noun has one of more ante-noun adjunctives, the plural marker can occur in one of several places in the following ways (illustrated by ex. 25-36):

á + Adj. + N
á + Adj. + á + N
á + Adj. + Adj. + N
Adj. + á + N
á + Adj. + á + Adj. + N

The most characteristic use seems to be that of the single preposed á-, regardless of the number of modifiers. The other uses occur almost exclusively in the radio texts.

25.	lo béni áfiní zo só -R10	'He blessed these new men.'
26.	í sára ákótá lége -R2	'We are making large roads.'
27.	mbi kpɔ na ákété kété yąma -A40	'I stab small animals with it.'
28.	ákózo zo -R10	'the first people'
29.	ámbéní zo míngi akɛ ndo só -R2	'Many people are here.'
30.	ápendere wále só míngi míngi, ála sára kőbe -F7	'All these many girls prepared food.'
31.	ámbéní kőtará tí áni	'some of our ancestors'
32.	agá na mbéní á-camarade tí lo -A8	'He comes with some of his friends.'
33.	ásɛmbɛ́ na ákété kété ápapa -R7d	'plates and small spoons'
34.	lo húnda ámbéní áwále -R4a	'He asked some women.'
35.	ámbéní ákété kété kőngbá akɛ míngi -R7d	'There are many small articles.'
36.	ámbéní ápendere yí míngi akɛ ká -R7d	'There are many nice things there.'

Chapter 7

PRONOUNS

7.10. Personal pronouns

7.11. The personal pronouns are neatly contrasted for singular and plural and for three persons in singular number. For singular number there are mbi 'first person,' mɔ 'second person,' and lo 'third person' (variant pronunciations of these are summarized in the chart below). For 'first person plural' the most common forms are é and í. The quality of the é form is higher even than the vowel in such French words as dé 'thimble.' Sometimes--i.e. in the speech of some speakers--it is almost like the vowel in English 'it.' But it never approaches the vowel ɛ. It is this latter fact that requires the normalization of the representation of the pronoun as í and not as é. 'Third person plural' is ála.

Some variant pronunciations of Sango pronouns

1s mbi : mbe, mbɛ, mi
2s mɔ : mɛ, ma, mǫ, [m]
3s lo : lu, ro, [l]
1p í : é
2/3p ála : ára, áa

Other alternatives for the plural pronouns are used. Whereas the Catholics have "officially" adopted é for 'first person plural' and í for 'second person plural' (as found in the Missel published by the Diocese of Bangui), the Protestants have adopted áni for 'first person plural' but use í for 'second person' as do the Catholics. The use of áni has not spread beyond the Protestant constituency, and í is rarely used for the second person either by people trained by Protestants or Catholics. A noticeable example is the former (and now deceased) President of the Republic, Mr. Boganda, who at one time prepared himself for the priesthood. For the second person he used the much more common form ála. There is therefore a generalized and widespread use of ála both for second and third persons, a grammatical feature which is not unknown in some of the other languages of the area.

Since some languages of the area use a plural pronoun in referring to a single individual when that person is held in respect (e.g. Gbaya), ála (or the 'second person' í) replaces mɔ and lo in direct or indirect discourse.

These are called "personal pronouns" for their referents are almost exclusively human beings. It is perhaps more accurate to describe them as pronouns for animate beings. Although the third person forms lo and ála are occasionally used for inanimate objects, this use is obviously quite unusual except for lo só discussed below. It is due perhaps to the influence of other languages, French or the native languages of the speakers of Sango. In the latter case the personal pronouns are light-heartedly used for inanimate objects (which otherwise have no pronominal substitutes). In the former case one may assume that a bilingual is translating the French pronouns 'le, la' and 'les.' It should be said that pronominal reference to inanimate objects is simply avoided in Sango, and where bilinguals feel inclined to use one, they choose the adjunctive ní (q.v. 4.21.20) rather than the personal pronouns. The normal "substitute" for at least some constructions with a pronoun is like the following: tɛ́nɛ́ tí kobéla 'the subject of the sickness' : tɛ́nɛ́ ní 'the subject of it, the subject.'

lé tí ká ní aɛkɛ kɔ́tá ní, ní laá sí lé ní amú fadé pɛpɛ. 'The surface of the wound was large, and that's why the wound did not heal quickly.'

7.12. It is uncommon for personal pronouns to be used when a person's statement is being quoted. Second or third person pronouns, singular and plural, are replaced by the adjunctive ní (q.v. 4.21.20). The substitution of ní for these pronouns (most commonly lo and ála) is also made to avoid ambiguity. The one place where ní does not replace a pronoun in quoted discourse is when the pronoun stands in isolation. It is then followed by the sentence particle o (q.v. 8.10). All of these uses are illustrated below.

1. lo tɛnɛ ní yí tí goe apɛ. 'He says that he doesn't want to go.' or 'He says, "I don't want to go."'

2. lo yí tí mú bɔngɔ́ tí ní na lo. 'He wanted to give his (i.e. his own) clothing to him (i.e. another person).'

3.	lo tenɛ, mbi o, ní ɛkɛ goe na galá.	'He said, "Say there, I'm going to the market."'

7.13. The plural pronouns--í commonly and ála rarely--are also used to anticipate the plurality resulting from the combining of two singular pronouns or a singular pronoun and a singular noun. Put into literal English, one says 'we and he' instead of 'he and I.' These coordinate phrases occur almost exclusively as pre-clausal subject constructions in which case the verb has its own subject in the form of a plural pronoun. For further discussion see 12.12.10.

1.	fadé í na mɔ, í dé bá da -C29	'You and I will take an oath about it.'
2.	í na lo, í gá na Bambari -I39	'He and I, we came to Bambari.'
3.	í na mamá, í gá -N80	'Mother and I, we came.'
4.	mbi yí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí í na ála agá taá kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ -R3	'I want your village and mine (i.e. our village) to become a real village.'
5.	mbi na lo, áni goe -L11	'He and I, we went.'
6.	lo na ála akɛ sára kusára -R10	'He and they were working.'

7.14. The one pronoun which is regularly used for inanimate objects but in a restricted way is lo. In a deliberately light-hearted or humorous way one can refer to almost any inanimate object with lo. This use compares with that of the noun zo 'person' in the same way: e.g. mú na mbi zo sɔ́ 'Give me that thing' (instead of using yí 'thing'). Bilinguals in French also use lo as an object of a verb in spite of the general pattern to avoid pronominal reference in this position. When lo is followed by the adjunctive sɔ́, it is also used to identify any object, animate or inanimate, singular or plural, as something which was just mentioned or is just about to be mentioned. It most frequently occurs in identificational or equational sentences, with the verb ɛkɛ or without any verb whatsoever. The omission of lo, leaving sɔ́ (which is grammatically possible) changes the meaning. Moreover, while similar in meaning to a construction with laá (q.v. 8.13), it is both semantically and grammatically different. For example, kɔa tí mbi laá means 'That's my work (which I've just described).' But kɔa tí mbi lo sɔ́ can mean that as well as 'This is my work (which I'm now going to describe).'

1.	angbá fadesó gí yáká tí nzó, na tí lɔ́sɔ, na tí ananas. lo só ade. -R6	'There remain now just mil gardens, and rice gardens, and pineapple gardens. That is what remains.'
2.	tɛ́nɛ́ só mbi yí tí tɛnɛ na ála, lo só -R6	'The subject about which I want to talk to you is the following.'
3.	éré tí ála só lo mú ála lo só -R10	'The names of those whom he selected are the following.'
4.	kíríngó tí í lo só, tí bíngó gbánda, lo só -R10	'We came back for this reason, to cast nets (i.e. to go fishing), that's why.'

7.20. Subject marker

The verbal prefix a- is considered a pronoun only for convenience. It differs more from the personal pronouns than it is similar to them. Like the personal pronouns it functions as the subject of a verb and in some instances it can substitute for any other grammatical subject (q.v. chp. 13). It is, in fact, a generalized subject marker. Its four distinctive characteristics are the following:

1. It occurs only immediately preposed to verbs where it marks the subject of a predication.
2. It never takes any modifiers of its own.
3. It is obligatorily redundant with any grammatical subject except unmodified personal pronouns. Pronoun phrases (q.v. 10.20) are followed by a-, but a single personal pronoun is not followed by a- except in the speech of certain individuals who disavowed fluency in Sango. One was an Igbo-speaking person from Nigeria and the other was a speaker of a "Bantu" language from the Berberati area.
4. It is used without limitation whatsoever for animate or inanimate objects.

These characteristics are syntactic in nature, and it is because of them that a- is considered a prefix. Since a- is syntactically "bound" to the verb, it is represented as if it were phonologically bound to it.

7.21. The following discussion is taken up entirely with the non-redundant use of a- (i.e. where there is no other grammatical subject). The redundant use of a- (i.e. where there is already another grammatical subject) is illustrated not only by the short text analysed below but also in chp. 13 where different kinds of grammatical subjects are described. It is appropriate to note here in passing that there are instances where a predicative verb (i.e. one which is not in a tí phrase, q.v. 9.20) seems to have no immediate grammatical subject at all. This may be more apparent than real, for the prefix a- is sometimes of such short duration and weak articulation that it seems to be missing. Nonetheless, there are enough such omissions that one must reckon with them. Unjustified on any grounds, however, is the omission of a- in the Protestant literature in such an environment as following a plural noun subject.

The very ubiquitousness of a-, even where it is not immediately preceded by a grammatical subject, makes a classification of its uses difficult. The following discussion is probably influenced more by subjective notions than by formal features.

When not immediately preceded by a grammatical subject a- is found to be used in the following ways:

1. Following sí and laá (q.v. 5.50 and 8.13) which join a pre-clausal subject construction (q.v. 12.12.10) with the verb (ex. 1-8).
2. To replace a previously mentioned subject (a) because it has just been identified or (b) when it is known by the context (ex. 9-14).
3. As an "empty," "indefinite," or completely generalized subject of a verb (ex. 15-23). This is paralleled by the English use of 'it, that, this, you' and 'they' where there is little specificity in the referent of the subject.

Following pre-clausal subject constructions:

1.	kɔ́li tí mbi só sí avɔ -I9	'It was this husband of mine who bought it.'
2.	só kóbe tí yáká sí aɛkɛ na aú só? -F4	'Is this food from the garden which Uncle has here?'
3.	só vɛní sí aɛkɛ nzoní -R2	'That is what's good.'

4.	France vɛní sí aɛkɛ bata í fadesó -R2	'It is France which is taking care of us now.'
5.	gí lo sí aɛkɛ kírí na tɛ́nɛ́ -R10	'It was only he who kept talking back.'
6.	gí babá tí mbi laá asára -A40	'It was just my father who made it.'
7.	kɔ́li tí mɔ laá avɔ só -I9	'It was your husband who bought this.'
8.	lo laá asára kɔ́tá yí -L175	'It was he who did great things.'

Where the subject is identifiable in the context:

9.	mɔ zía ngá na ní tongasó na mbéní place tí dé, alángó -R9a	'You place them also with it like this in a cook place and leave them.'
10.	mɔ píka vɛkɛ́, mɔ zía da. mɔ kánga yángá ní, akpɔrɔ ngbii, awɔ́kɔ nzoní míngi. -A11	'You pound the okra and put it in. You cover the top and it boils a long time and it (i.e. the okra) becomes nice and soft.'
11.	quand même ngú, amú na lo gí na cuillère -A9	'Even water, they give it to him just with a spoon.'
12.	lo píka mbéní kɔ́li dole ní amú lo afáa lo -L6	'He shot a male elephant and it took him and killed him.'
13.	ála gbó susu, así ngɔ́ óse -L10	'They caught fish which filled two canoes.'
14.	mɔ sára kɔa tí lo lá só, agá nzoní apɛ, atomba mɔ -R6	'You do his work today, and if it (i.e. the work) is not good, he dismisses you.'

As an indefinite subject:

15.	fadé aɛkɛ nzoní míngi -L4	'It will be very good.'
16.	na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí í na Gbanu aɛkɛ tongasó -A48	'In our villages among the Gbanu it's like this.'
17.	éré tí mbi ngá gí zo wa. adé ngá éré tí mbi zo wa. -C31	'My name is also just "Who?" people just call me "Who?"'

18. tongana gouvernement agá abáa, anzerɛ na lé tí lo -R6 'When the government comes and sees, it is pleased with it.'

19. akɛ tongasó vɛní sí ála kɛ sára rognon tí yąma na vin -R9a 'It is just like this that you prepare animal kidneys in wine.'

20. í kɛ dé bá da ngá. a-manqué pepɛ. C-29 'We are going to take an oath over it. There's no escaping that.'

21. lo dutí na lá tí vingt, así na vingt-trois. -R7a 'He remains from the twentieth to the twenty-third.'

22. fadé mbi sára agá ká -F7 'If I do it, it will turn into a sore.'

23. mbi língbi díkɔ ahúnzi pepɛ -R9b 'I can't read all of it to completion.'

Of the three uses, perhaps the second one is the most common. What makes it so common is a corollary feature of the language: clauses are strung along sometimes joined by connectives and sometimes not, to indicate sequence of action or some other close relationship between clauses. This feature is amply illustrated in the accompanying text in which some of the other uses of a- are also exemplified. There are a few verbs which are commonly followed by a clause whose only subject marker is a-. There are other verbs with prefixed a- which occur in certain locutions. These verbs are tɛnɛ 'to say' (ex. 24-30), língbi 'to be able, to be equal' which is used in a negative clause with the meaning "intensity" (ex. 31-33), hǫ́ 'to surpass' which follows another clause to indicate superlative degree (ex. 34-38), ngbá 'to remain' which indicates approach to doing something (ex. 39), de 'to remain' which in a negative clause indicates not having started doing something (ex. 40-41), and ɛkɛ 'to be' in the verb phrases ɛkɛ nzoní 'is good' and ɛkɛ tɛ́nɛ́ 'is affair' which indicate counsel or obligation (ex. 42-45).

24. mbi má atɛnɛ, mɔ mú kɔ́li ká -C8 'I understand that you got married there.'

25. lo hínga atɛnɛ, ní ɛkɛ wále -A8 'She knows that she is a woman.'

26. tongana afa na mɔ atɛnɛ, mɔ ɛkɛ mú yoró só -R4d 'When they tell you to take this medicine.'

27. ámbéní akɛ tɛnɛ na mbi atɛnɛ, aɛkɛ ta -R9b 'Some are telling me that it is a pot.'

28. ato kɔa na í atɛnɛ, lá só lo kɛ sára... -R7 'He sent word saying that today he was going to make....'

29. ámbéní wále ayí atɛnɛ, kɔ́li tí ála afɔnɔ pɛpɛ -L162 'Some wives don't want their husbands to roam around.'

30. í éré tí í atɛnɛ, róngó -I39 'We call it by the name róngó.'

31. apíka mbi, alíngbi apɛ -N81 'They beat me up something terrible.'

32. ála kɛ na yoró, alíngbi apɛ -N81 'They have an awful lot of charms.'

33. atoto, alíngbi apɛ -N81 'It made an awful lot of noise.'

34. áni yí míngi ahɔ̨́ -L175 'We like it very much.'

35. mawa akíri ahɔ̨́ ndó ní -R2 'There was more suffering than before.'

36. agbó susu ahɔ̨́ ndó ní -R10 'They caught a great quantity of fish.'

37. mɔ sára kɔa ahɔ̨́ ámbéní wále na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ só kóɛ́ -C31 'You do more work than any other woman in all this village.'

38. fadé mbi kɛ wara bɔngɔ́ ká na yáyú ahɔ̨́ mɔ apɛ? -C31 'Won't I be getting more clothes than you over there in heaven?'

39. angbá kété, ála poisonné mbi -N81 'A little more and they would have poisoned me.'

40. ade mbi tɛ mbéní yí ní apɛ -N35 'I haven't yet eaten anything of it.'

41. ade, ála sára na ámbéní mbá tí mbi tí mbéní ndo pɛpɛ -R2 'They have not yet done something similar to any of my colleagues of other places.'

42. akɛ nzoní í zíngo ála -R9a 'We ought to wake you up.'

43. akɛ nzoní mɔ báa ngá tɛ́rɛ́ tí mɔ sí -R7e 'You ought to pay attention to your body too.'

44. akɛ nzoní títɛnɛ France amú na í nginza lá kóɛ́ lá kóɛ́ tongasó pɛpɛ -R2 'It is not advisable to say that France should always give us money like this.'

45. akɛ tɛ́nɛ́ tí mɔ tí goe -A42	'It is your responsibility to go.'

7.22. Many of the uses of a- are illustrated in the following brief text (N79) which is the complete extemporaneous narration of a few incidents in the life of an adolescent girl. The narrator is a Sango-French bilingual who claimed to know neither the language of her father nor the language of her mother. She is one of those detribalized young people for whom Sango is a native language. Each grammatical subject is enclosed in [] brackets and all except pronominal ones are numbered for classification. The numbered subjects are classified as follows:

A. Noun phrase subjects: 1, 2, 4, 8, 10, 13, 15, 18, 21, 24, 27, 28, 33, 34, 41, 43, 44, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 58, 61, 62, 68.

B. Pre-clausal noun phrase subject construction is followed by a recapitulating pronoun rather than a-: 42.

C. a- with a verb following a verb of motion: 37, 7, 9, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 31, 32, 35, 39, 55, 56, 66.

D. a- with tɛnɛ 'to say': 5, 16, 17.

E. a- in alíngbi apɛ intensification: 36, 40, 63.

F. a- with verbs in narrative sequence: 11, 12, 14, 22, 29, 38, 45, 46, 48, 54, 57, 59, 65, 67, 69.

G. Where a- is a subject different from the preceding noun phrase or personal pronoun: 6, 30, 60, 64.

H. Where a- is a general, unspecified, indefinite subject: 37, 50, 64.

áíta, na école ti Bangui, [li tí á-fille ní a]^{1}kɛ crapule míngi.	'Friends, at school in Bangui, girls are treacherous.
na mbéní lá, [mbéní finí fille ní a]^{2} lóndó, [a]^{3}gá na école ménagère.	One day, a new girl arose and came to Ecole Ménagère.
na [mbéní camarade tí mbi ní a]^{4}toka kété íta tí lo [a]^{5}tɛnɛ, [a]^{6} goe [a]^{7}dɔ́ gɛ́rɛ́ tí lo. tongana [lo] yí tí píka lo, fadé [í] gá [í] píka lo.	And one of my friends sent word to her younger sister, saying, "Go and kick her foot. If she wants to hit you, I'll come and hit her.

na [íta tí lo ní a]^{8}gá [a]^{9}dɔ́ gɛ́rɛ́ tí fille só awe, [fille só a]^{10}sára tɛ́nɛ́ apɛ.	And when her sister came and kicked this girl's foot, this girl didn't say anything.
[a]^{11}mú lége [a]^{12}goe.	She departed and went.
[kété íta tí lo só a]^{13}mú lége [a]^{14}kírí.	This younger sister of hers departed and returned.
na [íta tí lo ní a]^{15}kírí [a]^{16}tenɛ lo [a]^{17}tenɛ, [mɔ] kírí [mɔ] kɔtɔ lo, sí [lo] sára tɛ́nɛ́.	And her sister said again to her, she said, "You go back and scratch her so she talks."
na [íta tí lo ní a]^{18}kírí [a]^{19}gá [a]^{20}kɔtɔ lo.	And her sister went back and came and scratched her.
fadesó, mɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí wále só, [bɛ́ tí lo a]^{21}sɔ.	Now this girl, she was angry.
[a]^{22}gá [a]^{23}píka li tí kété mɛ́rɛngɛ́ só awe, [kótá íta tí mɛ́rɛngɛ́ wále ní a]^{24}lóndó ká.	After she came and hit the head of this little girl, her big sister arose over there.
[a]^{25}gá [a]^{26}commencé píka mɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí wále awe.	She came and began to hit this girl.
sí [mɛ́rɛngɛ́ wále só a]^{27}tenɛ, báa [gí mɛ́rɛngɛ́ só vení a]^{28}gí yángá tí ní, [a]^{29}dɔ́ gɛ́rɛ́ tí ní.	So this girl said, "Look, this girl was looking for trouble and came and kicked my foot.
[ní] kɛ̨.	I refused.
[a]^{30}kírí [a]^{31}gá [a]^{32}kɔtɔ ní.	She returned and came and scratched me.
[ní] kɛ̨.	I refused.
sí [bɛ́ tí ní a]^{33}sɔ, sí [ní] píka lo.	And I was angry, so I hit her.
mais tí lo yɛ̨ da, [lo] píka ní.	But what's her trouble that she hit me?"

yí tí báa tongasó, [ámérɛngé míngi a]^{34}gá, [a]^{35}commencé bóngbi na li tí nouvelle mérɛngé wále só tí píkángó lo awe.	Just then, a lot of children came and began to gather around this new girl to hit her.
na [ála] píka lo, [a]^{36}língbi apɛ.	And they hit her terribly.
[a]^{37}mú ála, [a]^{38}goe na ní na directeur tí í ká.	They took them and went with them to our director over there.
[ála] goe [a]^{39}tiri ká ngbii, [a]^{40}língbi apɛ.	They went and argued over there a long time.
fadesó, na onze heures et demie, [í] sí gígí tí gá na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ awe, [í] yí tí sí na croisement tongasó, andáa [auto a]^{41}fáa mbéní mérɛngé ní.	Now at eleven-thirty, after we had already come out to go home, and had arrived at the intersection, an auto had killed a child.
na [ámamá tí mérɛngé ála]^{42}lóndó na tiri tí gá.	And the mothers of the child, they arose angrily to come.
[méné ní a]^{43}língbi na ndó tí lége apɛ.	The blood on the road was beyond belief.
na [ázo a]^{44}dutí na place ní fadesó.	And people were staying at that place.
[ála] commencé kpɔ tɛ́rɛ́ tí ála kíríkiri.	They began to stab each other left and right.
[a]^{45}gbó chauffeur só, [a]^{46}fáa cervelle tí chauffeur ní.	They took this driver and broke the head of this driver.
na [ála] goe na tɛ́nɛ́ ní.	And they took the affair.
[í] yí tí báa tongasó, [á-police au secours a]^{47}sí awe.	Just then, the emergency police came.
[ála] gbó zo só na ya tí auto ní kóé.	They took all these people in the car.
[a]^{48} hɔ̨́ na ní.	They went off with them.

[í] yí tí hǫ́ kété, [da a]^{49}gbí, [a]^{50}toto na mbáge ní ká.	We had just gone off a little ways when a house was on fire and was rumbling over in that direction.
andáa [mbéní da a]^{51}gbí na finí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́.	It turned out that a house was burning in the new settlement.
[da ní a]^{52}gbí da ukú.	Five houses were burning there.
fadesó [ville de Bangui ní a]^{53}mú lége, [a]^{54}goe.	Now the City of Bangui (i.e. fire wagons) took to the road and went.
[a]^{55}goe [a]^{56}míngɔ áda só ngbii.	They went and extinguished the burning houses a long time.
[a]^{57}ngbá tí míngɔ mbéní, [mbéní a]^{58}tí [a]^{59}gbí na mbáge.	While they were putting out one, another one collapsed and burned in another spot.
[a]^{60}yí tí míngɔ mbéní, [mbéní a]^{61}gbí na mbáge.	They wanted to extinguish one, another burned in another spot.
[da ní a]^{62}gbí ká [a]^{63}língbi apɛ.	An incredible number of houses burned there.
[a]^{64}mú Ville de Bangui otá, sí [a]^{65}goe [a]^{66}míngɔ da ní ngbii.	They took three fire wagons and went and extinguished the burning houses a long time.
[a]^{67}míngɔ da ní kóé awe, sí [Ville de Bangui ní a]^{68}mú lége [a]^{69}kírí.	After they put out all the houses, the fire wagons took to the road and returned.
na tongasó, [mbi] mú lége, [mbi] goe na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́.	And so I took to the road and returned home.'

Chapter 8

SENTENCE PARTICLES

Sentence particles occur in two types: those which occur at the end and those which occur at the beginning of a sentence. The postposed ones are all indigenous, but most if not all (depending on what ones are admitted) of the pre-posed ones are French borrowings.

8.10. Post-posed

The post-posed sentence particles are ma, o, pepɛ, and laá, which are treated in that order in the following sections. The first three constitute a class separate from laá for the reason that whereas they can occur in any independent verbal clause, laá occurs in verbal clauses only when they are dependent. All of them, however, can occur in independent non-verbal clauses.

8.11. The particles ma and o (ex. 1-6 and 7-10 respectively) are expressive words, serving a function like those of some of the intonational contours. The particle ma has a meaning of insistence, emphasis, and the like, and can occur in certain kinds of interrogative sentences as well as statements. The particle o (with mid tone) serves very much as the opposite of ma, having the meaning of politeness, supplication, endearment, and the like. A morpheme which may or may not be the same as this o is used following terms of address in quoted discourse (ex. 11): the narrator thus introduces new people into the discourse while making it clear that they are not the grammatical subjects of the immediate clauses.

1. mɔ diminué na mbi ngá ngéré ní ma. -C30	'Reduce the price for me!'
2. Sango kóé mbi má na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí í na l'Oubangui ma -A35	'I learned Sango here in our country, in Ubangi-Shari.'
3. mbi zía mbéní yí da sí ma. -A44	'Of course, I put something in it then (I eat it).'
4. mbi kɛ sukúla bɔngɔ́ na kɔ́li sɔ́, ka mbi passé, ka mbi wara pendere bɔngɔ́ tongasó apɛ ma. -C31	'I wash clothes for this man (i.e. my husband) and iron them, but I don't receive nice clothes like these!'

5.	ní laá ma. -R4c	'That's it.'
6.	tongasó ma?	'Is this how?'
7.	áíta tí mbi, ála hé pɛ́mbɛ́ tí mbi apɛ o. -A9	'My friends, please don't make fun of my teeth.'
8.	só séngé o. mɔ pensé apɛ o. -C31	'That's all right. Don't think about it.'
9.	íta o. fadɛ́ mbi wara tí mbi pendere bɔngɔ́ na ndo wa o. -C31	'Friend. Where will I get nice clothes?'
10.	bala o.	'Greetings.'
11.	lo tɛnɛ, mbi o, fadɛ́ ni goe na galá.	'He said, "Say there, I'm going to the market."'

8.12. Negative marker pɛpɛ.

8.12.10. The negative marker pɛpɛ occurs in several forms. Those which do not seem to be correlated with intonational features are, in addition to pɛpɛ, ɛpɛ and apɛ (in which forms the vowel ɛ can also be replaced by the vowel e). It is very likely that the forms without an initial p are stylistically different from the form pɛpɛ: the latter would seem to be more formal, precise, or emphatic than the others. The two kinds of forms occur in a single discourse of the same speaker. On the other hand, some speakers seem to use one form in preference to another. More work needs to be done on the stylistic and linguistic correlates of this word. One other phonetic form of this word is used by some speakers at least on some occasions: on magnetic tape it sounds as if the consonant p were replaced by a voiced bilabial fricative of very lax articulation (almost a w) and the vowel ɛ were replaced by some vowel of central quality. The tones of this word vary considerably, depending on the intonation contour which is superimposed. If the first syllable takes stress, the pitch will be high. In questions of a certain type the tones may be mid-level (q.v. chp. 16).

8.12.20. The position of the negative is generally at the end of a clause or sentence which is being negated, but a few words, mostly post-posed sentence particles, can follow it. Where verb phrase complements are postposed to pɛpɛ, one suspects that there is interference from the model of the English-speaking users of Sango. One of the most glaring features of the

Sango syntax of Americans, in whose language 'not' is, of course, near the verb, is the placing of pɛpɛ near the verb. The examples illustrate the occurrence of various types of words and constructions after the negative marker.

1. ní laá sí ála wara nginza pɛpɛ só -L1 — 'That's the reason why they didn't receive money.'
2. ála hé pɛ́mbɛ́ tí mbi apɛ o -A9 — 'Now don't make fun of my teeth.'
3. bɛ́ tí lo ayí mɔ apɛ laá -C31 — 'It's because he doesn't love you.'
4. mbi wara bɔ́ngɔ́ apɛ ma -C31 — 'I don't receive clothes.'
5. tongana mbi wara réponse pɛpɛ na ɛ́mbɛ́tí kɔ́ɛ́ só mbi to na mɔ... — 'When I didn't receive answers to the letters I had sent you...'
6. mbi wara mbéní nouvelle tí ála pɛpɛ fadesó tɛnɛtí nzɛ otá tongana yɛ̨ -L5 — 'Why is it that I haven't heard from you now for three months?'
7. lo mú na mbi nginza apɛ ngbangatí yɛ̨ — 'Why didn't he give me money?'
8. yí tí hɔ̨́ mɔ ɔ́kɔ aɛkɛ apɛ na sése só? — 'You mean that there is not one thing on earth to surpass you?'

8.12.30. The domain of pɛpɛ with few exceptions is a whole sentence, which may be either a non-verbal one (ex. 1-3) or a verbal one. This is to say that any affirmative sentence, with the exception of those marked for completed action by awe (q.v. 9.30), can have a negative counterpart. Where awe and pɛpɛ both occur in the same sentence (ex. 8-9), awe is in a clause included in the sentence, the whole of which is negated by pɛpɛ; all examples are questions. The exceptions concerning the domain of pɛpɛ include its use in isolation (ex. 6-7) reminiscent of its use in the original language as an interjection, and its use in a few noun and verb phrases (ex. 8-9). It may be possible to account for these latter exceptions with a different analysis (e.g. by taking na in ex. 8 as 'and' and the rest as a non-verbal clause) or by bilingual interference (ex. 9).

1. gí ní laá apɛ? -C31 — 'Just that, isn't it?'
2. só séngé apɛ -C31 — 'That's not all right.'
3. tongasó pɛpɛ, ka mbi mú — 'If it weren't for that, I would have taken it.'

4. í wɔ́kɔ ngá awe apɛ? -C31 'Aren't we also tired already?'

5. mbi má, mbi tɛnɛ mɔ mú kɔ́li mɔ goe na da tí kɔ́li awe apɛ? -C8 'Didn't I hear that you had taken a husband and had gone to his house already?'

6. pɛpɛ, fadé mbéní zo agá na manière -F4 'If not, then someone will come with deceit.'

7. aɛkɛ tí bata ázo tí kusára tongana kapíta? pɛpɛ. -R1 '(Is his work) to oversee workmen like a foreman? No.'

8. na lángó míngi pɛpɛ, babá tí mɛ́rɛngɛ́ ní akúí ngá -L17 'Not many days later, the child's father also died.'

9. mbéní ayí tí sára ménage tí lo pɛpɛ, tí occupé na kɔa pɛpɛ -L162 'Some don't want to do the house work, to occupy themselves with work.'

The following examples illustrate the use of pɛpɛ first in simple clauses, as independent sentences (ex. 10-15), subordinate clauses in "relative" constructions (ex. 16-18), and as various kinds of included clauses in complex sentences, and then in complex sentences (ex. 11-28). Among them are examples of verb phrases with tí-verb phrase complements (q.v. 11.14) which are interesting because they sometimes pose, at least theoretically, problems in ambiguity (discussed below).

The negative marker also occurs in certain locutions, such as ɔ́kɔ pɛpɛ 'not at all' (q.v. 4.22), hínga pɛpɛ 'perhaps' (q.v. 15.21.12a), and alíngbi pɛpɛ 'very much' (q.v. 15.21.11b).

10. zo tí gíngó yɔ́ró na mbi, sí mbi soigné na ní, aɛkɛ pɛpɛ. -L186 'I have no one to get the medicine for me for treating myself with it.'

11. tɛ́nɛ́ só Mamadu akɛ tɛnɛ só aɛkɛ vɛnɛ pɛpɛ. -R1 'What Mamadu is saying is not a lie.'

12. amú na lo kóbe míngi pɛpɛ. -A9 'He did not give him much food.'

13. kobéla asára lo tongana tí giriri pɛpɛ. -L27 'The illness doesn't give him as much trouble as it did formerly.'

14. mɔ tɛnɛ vɛnɛ pɛpɛ. -C8 'Don't lie.'

15.	í kɛ wara tí í nginza míngi míngi tongana ázo ti Bangui apɛ. -I55	'We don't get a lot of money as do the people of Bangui.'
16.	mbénî tɛ́nɛ́ aɛkɛ só mbi hínga li tí mbi da pɛpɛ. -L162	'There's a matter which I don't understand.'
17.	zo só bɛ́ tí lo ayí apɛ, lo ngbá yí tí lo. -A21	'The person who doesn't want to, let him stay.'
18.	gí na lége tí kóbe só mɔ lɛkɛ nzoní apɛ. -A8	'It's just from the food which you do not prepare well.'
19.	madame ayí pɛpɛ, lo lutí ndo avɔkɔ́ lo da. -L168	'If the lady doesn't care to, let her stand there until night falls on her.'
20.	pɛkɔ́ ní ayɔ apɛ, lo tí awe. -A29	'It's not long before he has fallen.'
21.	tongana mɔ tɛ ɛpɛ, mɔ kírí ní na mbi. -C30	'If you don't eat it, then give it back to me.'
22.	lo tɛnɛ, ní goe na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí Israel séngé pɛpɛ. -R7a	'He said that he did not go to the country of Israel without reason.'
23.	mamá atɛnɛ mɔ toto apɛ. -N80	'Mother said, "Don't cry."'
24.	ánĩ hínga mbénî yí ɔ́kɔ tí sára ngbanga ní pɛpɛ. -L1	'We don't know one thing to do about it.'
25.	mbi de tí mú kɔ́li apɛ. -C8	'I haven't yet taken a husband.'
26.	mbi língbi tí díkɔ só angbá na lége tí gángó ní pɛpɛ. -R9b	'I am unable to count those which are still coming.'
27.	mbi wara mbénî yąma tí tɛ na pɛkɔ́ ní apɛ. -A44	'I don't get any meat with which to eat it.'
28.	mbi yí tí goe na lo encore pɛpɛ. -N80	'I don't want to go with him again.'

8.12.40. Because of the obligatory placement of pɛpɛ at the end of a clause, there are possibilities for ambiguity. Theroetically, the following four sentences are possible:

1. mbi hínga |akɛ ngangó.

'I know that it is hard.'

2. mbi hínga |akɛ ngangó pɛpɛ.

'I know that it is not hard.'

3. mbi hínga |akɛ ngangó |pɛpɛ.
'I don't know that it is hard.'
4. mbi hínga |akɛ ngangó pɛpɛ |pɛpɛ.
'I didn't know that it wasn't hard.'

Such contrasts could be repeated for several common verbs, because this type of construction is much used in Sango (q.v. 15.21.12a). The fourth possibility does not at all occur in our corpus although I recall having heard long involved sentences with two pɛpɛ's juxtaposed in this way. At the moment I do not know how the ambiguity between 3 and 4 is resolved. One might suspect that there was some kind of junctural and intonational contrast between them. One can, of course, restructure the sentence, and this may be the reason why no really ambiguous sentences occurred in the texts. For example, since mbi hínga lo gá bírí pɛpɛ might mean 'I know that he didn't come yesterday' or 'I didn't know that he came yesterday,' one could say for the second meaning só lo gá bírí, mbi hínga pɛpɛ 'About his coming yesterday, I didn't know of it.' An unsuccessful attempt was made to investigate the matter by elicitation with an informant.

1. mbi de mbi mú kɔ́li apɛ. -C8	'I haven't yet taken a husband.'
2. ní de ní báa yąma tí sése agbó kámba na ndúzú pɛpɛ.- L175	'(He said), "I haven't yet seen a terrestrial animal trapped in the sky."'
3. mbi língbi títɛnɛ, mbi díkɔ ahúnzi pɛpɛ. -R9b	'I can't say that I have listed everything completely.'
4. mbi hínga zo ká títɛnɛ, mbi to éré tí lo pɛpɛ. -L3	'I don't know any one there whose name I can send.'
5. docteur adé éré ní, mbi má pɛpɛ. -L7	'The doctor did not give it a name which I heard (i.e. if he named it, I know nothing about it).'
6. ka mɔ hínga manière tí wále akɛ ndé ndé apɛ? -C31	'Don't you know that the wiles of women are varied?'
7. í kɛ na moyen títɛnɛ, í fáa dole ní tí goe na ní, akɛ apɛ. -I55	'We had no way of cutting up the elephant to take it away.'

8.13. The sentence particle laá is used to make predications in which it functions as the predicate. Its force includes the ideas of emphasis (in which case it is roughly analogous to French 'c'est...que'), of demonstration (cf. French 'voilà'), and of explanation. This particle is used extensively in radio texts (46/105) occurrences. Elsewhere it is used, with a couple of exceptions, by town people and young people. In this respect, the usage of laá parallels that of títɛnɛ (q.v. 5.70), and may with it and other factors serve to mark the difference between two varieties of Sango.

The topic in a laá predication may be a substantive phrase (q.v. chp. 10), including a noun phrase (ex. 1-6), a connective phrase (ex. 7-9), or a pronoun (ex. 10-12). It may be a clause (usually only one) preceding laá (ex. 13-19). Finally, it may be the adjunctive ní (q.v. 4.21), in which case the referent is in the preceding discourse (ex. 20-25). The ní may be considered to replace a whole clause. The particle may be followed by the postposed sentence particles ma (ex. 25), and apɛ or pepɛ (ex. 26), or by the adjunctives só (ex. 27), tongasó (ex. 28) and mbírímbírí (ex. 4), or by awe (ex. 29).

The entire laá phrase functions in one of two ways: it is either a pre-clausal construction (q.v. chp. 12), or it is an independent predication (ex. 30-31). As a pre-clausal construction, it may function as the subject of the clause (ex. 1-2), or be in apposition with the subject (ex. 11-12). Or it may be, semantically, the object of the following verb (ex. 3-4) or a modifying complement (q.v. 11.11), usually with explanatory force (ex. 14-16).

1.	gí kɔa tí mbi laá akɛ píka mbi -R6	'It's just my work that beats me.'
2.	kɔ́li tí mɔ laá avɔ só -I9	'It's your husband who bought this.'
3.	vɛnɛ laá mɔ kɛ tɛnɛ só -C8	'It's a lie you are telling there.'
4.	taá tɛ́nɛ́ laá mbírímbírí, mbi tɛnɛ só -C8	'It's the truth, straight, which I am telling.'
5.	mais, yí ní laá, mbi de mɛ́rɛngɛ́ -N81	'But the thing of it was, I was still a child.'
6.	ndá ní laá, sí mbi tɛnɛ na ála giriri, á-fonctionnaire akú kɔa tí ála -R3	'This is the reason why I said civil servants should wait for their jobs.'

7.	gí tí áwále laá asɔ ála míngi só -R4a	'It's just that of women that hurts them so much.'
8.	tenetí sioní tí mɔ laá, sí fúta ní agá na mɔ -L17	'It's because of your evil that retribution has come to you.'
9.	tí Bangui laá -A8	'That's what pertains to Bangui.'
10.	lo laá akírí asára kótá yí -L175	'It's he who is turning and doing a great thing.'
11.	mbi laá mbi kɛ gá na pɛkɔ́ tí mɔ -C30	'It's I who am coming after you.'
12.	mɔ ɔ́kɔ laá, mɔ kɛ yɔ̣́? -I9	'You by yourself, will you drink it?'
13.	aɛkɛ tɛ́nɛ́ ní laá sí mbi tenɛ ála kóé -R2	'It is this thing which I told you all.'
14.	aɛkɛ kúsára tí Nzapá laá, sí mbi ngbá tí hú pɔnɔ́ da só -A44	'It's the work of God in which I am still suffering this way.'
15.	mbi ngbá mɛ́rɛngɛ́, mbi goe na école laá, mbi má Sango bien -A21	'When I was a child, I went to school, and that is why I understand Sango well.'
16.	nginza aɛkɛ na lo apɛ laá lo sára mɔ tongasó -C31	'Because he has no money, that's why he's treated you like this.'
17.	só aɛkɛ kusára tí áwále laá -A8	'That's the work of women.'
18.	peut-être bɛ́ tí lo ayí mɔ apɛ laá -C31	'Perhaps it's because his liver doesn't love you.'
19.	gí tɛ́nɛ́ só lá só mbi yí títenɛ fa na ázo ní laá -R4c	'It's just this thing which today I want, as it were, to show the people.'
20.	ní laá akɛ li na gɛ́rɛ́ tí áwále -R4a	'That's why it gets into the legs of women.'
21.	ní laá, ála to na í mbɛ́tí ge -R7b	'That's why they sent us this paper.'
22.	ní laá mbi hínga ndá ní -N81	'That's why I understand it.'
23.	mais ní laá Bangui ayɔ míngi -I55	'But this is the problem, that Bangui is so far.'
24.	ní laá sí mbi yí mbéní nginza kété -R1	'That's why I want a little money.'

25. ɛ̧ɛ̧ ní laá ma -R4c 'Sure, that's just it.'

26. só lángó tí kɔa laá apɛ? -N35 'Isn't that the time for work there?'

27. tɛ́nɛ́ tí mbi ní laá só -R2 'That's what I have to say right there.'

28. yí ní laá tongasó -R4c 'That's the way it is, like that.'

29. kɔa ní laá awe -C31 'That's all the work there is.'

30. gí tɛ́nɛ́ ní laá -R4d 'That's the issue right there.'

31. só lége ní laá -A8 'That's the way.'

8.20. Pre-posed

The pre-posed sentence particles are all borrowings from the French language unless one admits a few indigenous words which have been classified differently. The French loan-words (ex. 1-4) are il faut (pronounced as fó, ifó or ilfó) 'it is necessary that....,' il ne faut pas 'it is necessary that ....not,' pourquoi (pronounced as púkwa or púrkwa) 'why?' and est-ce que (pronounced as ɛskí) 'is it true that....?' The indigenous words which a different analysis might put here are fadé, which marks future time (q.v. 9.10), and gbá, which means something like 'nevertheless, necessarily.' (ex. 5). The first has been described as a verbal adjunctive and the second, of which there is only one example, might be considered a connective.

1. est-ce que mbi na ála, í língi tí dutí place ɔ́kɔ tí sára tɛ́nɛ́ apɛ? -L171 'Can't we sit in one place and talk?'

2. pourquoi mɔ tɛnɛ mbi wara pɛpɛ. -C29 'Why do you say that I didn't find it?'

3. il faut mbi goe na ngonda encore -N35 'I must go into the bush again.'

4. faut pas que mɔ zía lége ti dimanche ɔ́kɔ só, mɔ sára gí lángó ɔ́se, mɔ kírí na pɛkɔ́ pɛpɛ. -R4c 'You must not renounce this (taking of medicine) for one week, and just do it for two days, and then come back to it later.'

5. mɔ zo ní, mɔ hínga tí kpé lɔ́rɔ́ apɛ, gbá mɔ kɛ kpé. -R4b 'You there, you may not know how to run fast, but nevertheless you'll run for sure.'

Chapter 9

VERBS

9.10. Categories

The verbs of Sango, like the other classes of words, are morphologically quite simple. Their only affix is a- which marks the subject (q.v. 7.20). Otherwise, there is no inflection for any grammatical category whatsoever. The suffixation of -ngó (q.v. 6.30) is verbal simply because verb stems exclusively take this suffix, but the suffix is a nominalizing one and a verb stem with -ngó never functions as a predicate. Categories of time and aspect are accounted for lexically or contextually. For example, completed action is usually not marked in any explicit manner. When there is need for precision, awe 'it is finished' (q.v. 9.30) is introduced at the end of the clause(s). Future time is marked by fadé (q.v. 4.30) placed before the subject or by the verb ɛkɛ 'to be' placed immediately before the main verb (discussed below). The "conditional mood" is marked by tongana and ka (q.v. 5.81 and 5.20). There is no passive. For other semantic and grammatical categories one must consult the dictionary.

9.20. Sequences of verbs

The only grammatically important characteristic of the verbs is their tendency to be grouped in certain constructions. Discussing this feature here is admittedly premature, for the feature is a syntactic one, but because a few specific verbs are involved, there is some advantage in classifying them now.

9.21. First, there are a number of verbs which are very commonly followed by a verb or verb phrase introduced by the preposition tí. These are the following:

de 'to be about to' and in the negative 'to....not yet'
commencé 'to begin'
língbi 'to be able to'
ngbá 'to remain, to be still doing something'
manqué 'to do something without doubt' (in the negative)
yí 'to want to'

These are not true auxiliaries however, for tí-phrase verbal complements are quite common in the verb phrase (q.v. 11.14). The only word which approaches being an auxiliary is ɛkɛ, which is discussed below.

9.22. Other strings of verbs and clauses are more fully discussed in chp. 11 and 15. 21.11. The general tendency can be described as one for showing the interrelatedness or sequential occurrence of the events whose subject is the same. It is this syntactic characteristic of Sango which makes it often difficult to decide what are the boundaries of sentences. Probably no sentences are immune from this "compressing" tendency, and yet it is most common with any verb of motion. Of these the two most common are gá 'to come' and goe 'to go.' These occur frequently in narratives where they are followed by another verb which may or may not have the subject marker a- (q.v. 7.20). In these locutions a literal coming and going are very often not involved. The uses of these verbs are therefore idiomatic in a way similar to 'come' and 'go' in the English sentences 'Come on and tell us' and 'He went and punched him in the nose.'

1. Kamara, goe báa magasin -R1	'Kamara, go and look at the storeroom.'
2. mbi kpé, mbi goe lángó na da tí mbéní zo ní -N81	'I ran away, I went and slept in the house of a certain person.'
3. í goe wara ádole -I55	'We went and found elephants.'
4. tongana mɔ yí, mɔ goe kú mbi -C30	'If you want, go and wait for me.'
5. í goe sára ngú míngi ká -N81	'We went and spent many years there.'
6. gouvernement Dacko agá sí na ndo só -R6	'President Dacko came and arrived here.'
7. ála gá sára kɔa na yá tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí í -R7d	'They came and worked in our villages.'
8. ámbunzú tí Bangui ní, ála gá mú na mbi nginza -I55	'The White Men from Bangui came and gave me money.'

9.23. The verb ɛkɛ is used preceding other verbs except de 'to remain' to indicate incompleted or habitual action. Even without the marker of completed action (viz. awe) the clause lo tɛ kɔ́be might very easily be taken to mean 'he has eaten.' To make certain that the action is still going on one adds ɛkɛ 'to be' to make lo kɛ tɛ kɔ́be 'he is eating.' ɛkɛ also occurs in sentences where futurity is certainly implied, but where it is not certain that continued action is suggested (ex. 14). The same uncertainty exists for those sentences where past time is unquestionable (ex. 12). More troublesome are those sentences where an explicitly marked incompleted or habitual action seems to be inappropriate (ex. 22). These latter sentences and the fact that they most often occur in the speech of the town folk seem to indicate the weakening, in one sense, of the distinctive function of ɛkɛ. For some people it may be so stylish to use ɛkɛ as an "auxiliary" that it no longer has any contrastive function.

Because the verb ɛkɛ 'to be' can precede other verbs which, on the one hand, are not introduced by the connective tí and, on the other hand, do not--and cannot--take a subject, it is possible to look upon it as a kind of auxiliary verb. Another reason is that when it is preposed to another verb it is very weakly articulated. The first vowel is dropped or where retained is realised as a very short or nonsyllabic segment: e.g. one hears [mamáykɛ gwe] for what is normalized as mamá aɛkɛ goe 'mother is going.' It is also more weakly stressed than the following verb. One can, in fact, have a phonological contrast between akɛ tí lo 'it's his' and ɛkɛ tí lo (a variant pronunciation of akɛ̧ tí lo) 'as for him, he refuses.' Some occurrences of kɛ appear to be suffixal to a personal pronoun or the subject marker a-. Such an evolution would not be surprising at all, but in this grammar no such special morpheme is isolated. The principal reason is that wherever kɛ occurs ɛkɛ can easily be substituted with no change in meaning.

1.	ákété kété á-microbe tí bilharzie ní akɛ na yá tí ngú só. ní laá akɛ li na gɛ́rɛ́ tí áwále. -R4a	'Very small liver fluke germs are in this water. That's the reason why they enter the legs of women.'
2.	ála goe tí sára ágɔ́zɔ tí ála na yá tí ngú, na place só ngú só akɛ sɔa pɛpɛ -R4a	'They go to fix their manioc in water, at a place where the water is not flowing.'

3. só tongana yę sí tí ákɔ́li akɛ sɔ ála míngi pɛpɛ. gí tí áwále laá asɔ ála míngi só. -R4a

'How is it that the men's (i.e. liver fluke disease) doesn't hurt them much? It's just the women's which hurts them a lot.'

4. í sára kóbe na lége ní pɛpɛ. ní laá si í kɛ wara malade míngi, sí í toto yá tí í. -A8

'We don't prepare food in the correct manner. That's the reason why we become sick so much and we complain about our abdomens.'

5. tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi, í zía kpí tí sindi na ndó ní, na kárákó, sí í kɛ tɛ na ní -A8

'As for my home, we put sesame paste on it, and peanut (i.e. paste), and then we eat it with them.'

6. ní laá akɛ nzoní, ála má wángó só á-médecin akɛ mú na ála só -R4c

'That's the reason why you should listen to the advice which doctors give you.'

7. lo kɛ changé bɔngɔ́ lá kóé lá kóé. mais mbi wále ní, mbi changé bɔngɔ́ apɛ. ázo akɛ báa mbi. kaméla akɛ sára mbi míngi. -C31

'He changes clothes all the time. But I, the wife, I don't change clothes. People look at me. I'm very much embarrassed.

8. ámbéní akɛ goe na six heures. ála goe, ála vɔ yí tí ála. ála kɛ ká ní. -N78

'Some go at six o'clock. They go and buy their things (i.e. for resale). They sell it.'

9. B- mbi de mbi goe na da tí kɔ́li apɛ. A- vɛnɛ laá mɔ kɛ tɛnɛ só. -C8

B- 'I haven't yet gone to my fiancé's house.' A- 'It's just lies you're telling.'

10. akɛ tongasó vɛní sí ála kɛ sára rognon tí yąma na vin -R9a

'It's just in this manner that one prepares the kidneys of animals in wine.'

11. tɛrɛ agoe dutí na yángá tí yáká tí kóbe só ..., akɛ tɛ -F4

'Spider went and sat down at the edge of this food garden of his and began to eat.'

12.	tongana ála wara ressort tí kutukutu só aɛkɛ fáa, ála sára na ngáfó -A13	'When they find an automobile spring which has broken, they make a hoe out of it.'
13.	fadé mbi kɛ wara bɔngɔ́ ká na yáyú ahɔ̨́ mɔ apɛ? -C31	'Won't I get more clothes than you up there in heaven?'
14.	tongana mbi fáa lo, fadé mbi kɛ bi lo na ngonda apɛ? -A40	'After I kill it (i.e. lizard), won't I throw it into the bush?'
15.	tongana mɔ sára tongasó pɛpɛ, lá kóé mɔ ɛkɛ wara malade -A8	'If you don't do it like this, you'll get sick all the time.'
16.	ato kɔa na í mbɛ́tí ge, atɛnɛ, lá só, lo kɛ sára kótá matánga -R7f	'He sent word here to us in a letter saying that today he was going to make a big party.'
17.	fadesó, í ɛkɛ sára calcul tí nginza tí lo -R1	'Now let's figure up his money.'
18.	fadesó, mbi kɛ mú ánde na lo congé -R1	'Now I'll give him a vacation from now on.'
19.	lá kóé yáká tí kɔ́li só, ábákoyá míngi aɛkɛ fúti kóbe ní. ámɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí lo akɛ tomba gbá. -F4	'All the time, this garden of his, baboons in great numbers ruined its harvest. His children chased them away to no avail.'
20.	lo na zo vɔkɔ́ agá bóngbi ɔ́kɔ. ála kɛ tɛ kóbe ɔ́kɔ, ála kɛ yɔ̨́ samba ɔ́kɔ. -R2	'He and the African came and met. They ate together, they drank beer together.'
21.	depuis ngú bale ɔ́kɔ na óse ála ɛkɛ voté lá kóé -R3	'For twelve years you have been voting regularly.'
22.	áwále só aɛkɛ lɛkɛ ta, fadesó ála zía lége tí lɛkɛ ta awe -A13	'Women who used to make pots, they have now given up making pots.'

9.30. we

The verb we, which may be glossed 'be finished,' may serve either as the predicate of a simple clause or be in paratactic construction with a principal clause. In either case, it never appears without the subject marker a-, whether or not there is a substantive phrase (q.v. chp. 10) as a subject.

In a simple clause, we is the verb. The clause may consist only of awe, with or without adjunctives (q.v. 4.30) such as fadesó (ex. 1-2). Or it may have a substantive phrase subject (ex. 3-4). When the clause is introduced by the connective tongana (q.v. 5.81), or by na (q.v. 5.32) as suppletive for tongana in a series of parallel awe clauses (ex. 5-6), or when the awe clause, without any introducing word, ends on a rising intonation (q.v. 3.11), the clause is dependent. Otherwise, it is independent.

When awe is in paratactic construction with a principal clause, and immediately follows it, it is still analyzed as a clause, consisting of the verb and the subject marker. That this is a sound description is seen from the following parallels:

lo gá fadesó : awe fadesó
'He has come now.' : 'It is finished now.'
lo gá anínga apɛ : lo gá awe
'He came, it hasn't been long.' : 'He came, it is finished (i.e. He has already come.).'

But awe appears to be in the process of transition toward becoming a simple post-posed sentence particle (q.v. 8.10). It is to be noted that, since awe is in construction with the entire clause and not with the verb only, it occurs after the clause is completed. The only cases in which awe intervenes between a verb and some of its complements in the verb phrase (q.v. 11.10) is in some anomalous examples (ex. 7) occurring in the speech of some people who have been strongly influenced by Protestant missions.

1.	awe fadesó -L175	'It's finished now.'
2.	así na lángó bale ɔ́kɔ na osió sí awe -R7b	'It came to the fourteenth day, and then it was over.'
3.	tɛ́nɛ́ tí mbi awe -A40	'My words are done.'
4.	gí ní laá awe? -R4b	'Is that all there is to it?'
5.	jusqu'à tongana l'heure tí yáká awe, áni kírí na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ -A15	'Then when the time for making gardens is over, we go back to the village.'

6.	tongana áni tóró lengé awe, (...) na l'heure tí deux heures awe, áni bóngbi tí dó lengé -A9	'When we have set up the lengé and (when) two o'clock has fully come, we gather to dance the lengé.'
7.	tongana áni goe na pɛkɔ́ tí tɛ́nɛ́ tí Nzapá yongɔ́rɔ míngi, áni girísa ámbéní tɛ́nɛ́ ní awe -F7	'When we have followed the affair of God for a long time, we have forgotten the other affairs.'

In these paratactic constructions, awe serves as the marker of an action antecedent to that of the verbs of the context. Since the simple unmodified verb (q.v. chp. 9) implies past time in a general sense, the clause modified by awe expresses a perfective idea, somewhat analogous to the pluperfect of some Indo-European languages. In any case, awe marks an action completed before the time implied by the immediate context. Since by definition awe is thus in contrast with fadé, the future marker (q.v. 9.10) and ɛkɛ, the continuous action marker (q.v. 9.23), it does not occur in construction with clauses in which these appear, except again in a few anomalous examples.

Whether as a verb or as a marker, we occurs in affirmative, interrogative, or imperative sentences, but not in negative sentences. Interrogative uses are marked by a sentence-final rising intonation (q.v. 3.11), and sometimes by the addition of apɛ (ex. 8-11). In the single imperative use found in our corpus (ex. 12), awe seems to mean something like 'and that's all' or 'and that's enough.' Typically, dependent clauses in construction with awe are introduced by tongana, or by na as a suppletive for tongana in a series (ex. 13-18), by só (ex. 19-20), or by nothing, the subordination being marked by a rising intonation at the end of the clause (ex. 21-24).

8.	mɔ má awe Albert? -R4d	'Have you understood, Albert?'
9.	bon, depuis só mɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí mɔ akɛ sára kɔa só, mbéní lá ɔ́kɔ, patron tí lo akę tí fúta lo awe? -R1	'Well, since your son has been working at this job, has his boss ever once refused to pay him?'
10.	mais pasteur í wɔ́kɔ ngá awe apɛ? -C31	'But pastor, aren't we completely worn out also?'

11. mbi má mbi tɛnɛ mɔ mû kɔ́li, mɔ goe na da tí kɔ́li awe apɛ? -C8	'Haven't I already heard that you've taken a husband and gone to his house?'
12. mɔ prié gí Nzapá awe -C31	'Pray only to God, that's enough.'
13. na áni hínga akɛ yí tí mbito míngi, tongana áḷa girísa ýí tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ awe -A13	'And we know it is a matter of great fear, when they have forgotten the ways of the village.'
14. tongana í zía lait da awe, akɛ páta óse -N78	'When we have put milk into it, (the price) is ten francs.'
15. tongana agoe sí ká awe, bon, lo lóndó, atɛnɛ, tongana zo só adê êré tí mbi, fadê mbi tɛ kóbe tí lo -F7	'When he had arrived there, he got up and said, if anyone says my name, I'll eat her food.'
16. tongana mɔ lóndó na kɔa ní mɔ gá awe, mɔ sukúla ngú, mɔ yû bɔngɔ́ tí mɔ, fadesó, mɔ píka kate tí mɔ, atɛnɛ, mbi ɛkɛ kɔ́li -R6	'When you have left your work and have come home, you wash up, you put on your clothes, then you hit your chest, you say, I'm a man.'
17. tongana mɔ tourné kêté alíngbi na ní awe, mɔ zía na sése -A8	'When you have stirred it a little, sufficiently for it, you put it on the ground.'
18. na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi, tongana ámamá agoe na ngonda tí mú makongó, na ála mú makongó kóê awe, agâ sí na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ fadesó, azía ála na yá tí sakpá -A8	'In my village, when the mothers have gone out into the bush to get caterpillars, and have gotten caterpillars, they come and arrive in the village, and then they put them into baskets.'
19. mais só Jésus atɛ tênê awe, lo dê kíté ní pɛpɛ -R10	'But since Jesus had said it, he did not object to it.'
20. bon, só mamá alóndô na Bangui agâ sí na ndo só mbi báa lê tí lo awe só, mbi mû pardon míngi na Nzapá -N35	'Now, because mother left Bangui and came and arrived here and I have seen her face, I give thanks to God.'

21.	yá tí mbi ní agá, a-diminué awe, mamá agá amú mbi -N81	'When my abdomen had become less swollen, my mother came and took me.'
22.	tɛrɛ amá tongasó awe, lo kpê tí lo bíaní -L175	'When spider had heard this, he ran away.'
23.	agá píka li tí kétê mɛ̂rɛngɛ̂ só awe, kótá íta tí mɛ̂rɛngɛ̂ wále ní alóndó ká -N79	'When they had finished hitting the head of this little child, the sibling of this girl rose up there.'
24.	eh bien, lo tɛ ngunzá ní kóê awe, mɔ goe mɔ mú na lo ngú, lo sukúla mabɔ́kɔ tí lo kóê, lo yɛ̨̂ ngú na pɛkɔ́ ní -A11	'Then, when he has eaten up the manioc greens, you go give him water, he washes his hands completely, he drinks water afterwards.'

Independent clauses in construction with awe may have no introducer (ex. 25-29) or be introduced by some pre-clausal element, which may be relatively simple (ex. 30-34) or complex (ex. 35-36). Such clauses may in turn be followed by others introduced by various words, such as sí, fadesó, and fadê (ex. 37-43).

25.	mbi má awe, monsieur l'inspecteur -R1	'I've understood, Mr. inspector.'
26.	ngunzá tí Bata sí mbi zía awe -A44	'These manioc leaves at Bata, I've given them up.'
27.	mɔ tɛnɛ vɛnɛ awe laá -C8	'You have told a lie there.'
28.	mbi kɛ̨ tí fúta lo awe -F4	'I've refused to pay him.'
29.	prié gí Nzapá awe -C31	'Pray only to God, that's all.'
30.	fadesó mbi ça va awe -N35	'Now I've recovered completely.'
31.	depuis só, andáa, oignon abe awe -A8	'In the meantime, however, the onions have finished browning.'
32.	na lo fáa kámba na gɔ́ tí woga awe -F4	'And he cut the rope from the antelope's neck.'
33.	ka lo tɛnɛ na mbi awe -R1	'Otherwise he would have told me.'
34.	déjà, mbi lú yáká tí kárákó awe -R6	'Already, I have planted my peanut garden.'

35. pɛkɔ́ ní ayɔ apɛ, lo tí awe -A29 'It wasn't long afterwards, he fell.'

36. yé tí báa tongasó, ámɛ́rɛngɛ́ míngi míngi agá a-commencé bóngbi na li tí nouvelle mɛ́rɛngɛ́ wále só tí píkángó lo awe -N79 'When we tried to see what was going on, many many children had come and begun to gather on the head of this new girl to beat her.' (N.B. awe is in construction with aga a-commencé.)

37. amíngɔ da ní kóé awe, sí Ville de Bangui ní amú lége akírí -N79 'They had extinguished (the fire) in the house completely, and then the fire wagons (lit. the city of Bangui) took to the road and returned.'

38. mais mbi lɛkɛ tɛ́nɛ́ ní awe ngá, sí mbi tɛnɛ na mɔ tí má sí -L2 'But I had fixed up the matter completely, and then I told you so you would hear.'

39. mɔ lɛkɛ kóé awe, fadésó mɔ gá mɔ túku mafuta na yá ta -A8 'You have finished fixing it, and now you up and pour oil into a pot.'

40. l'heure tí midi alíngbi awe, tongasó kɔ́li tí mɔ alóndó ká na kɔa, agá -A11 'Noon has fully come, and so your husband arises from his work and comes.'

41. mbi má tɛ́nɛ́ tí Nzapá awe, na mbi goe na gbɛ́ tí kéké mbéní tí sambéla pɛpɛ -A15 'I had heard God's word, and I didn't go under trees to pray any more.'

42. tongana í voté awe, fadé í sára gouvernement tí í -R3 'When we have finished voting, we will set up our government.'

43. tongana í gá ngangó awe sí lo língbi títɛnɛ, lo zí mabɔ́kɔ, na pɛkɔ́ tí í -R2 'When we have become strong, then she (i.e. France) will be able to loosen her hands from behind us.'

As for more complex, and rarer, constructions, it may be said that when awe is in construction with a principal clause, it does not affect a só "relative" clause (q.v. 4.23.10) which may be included in a noun phrase which is part of the clause (ex. 44-45). On the other hand, awe may be in construction with such a relative clause, in which case it immediately follows it (ex. 46-47). In one instance, só introduces a subordinate clause preceding a principal awe clause (ex. 48). In some cases, awe is in construction with a complex of clauses (ex. 49-52). In some of these cases, while there may be grammatical uncertainty about how many clauses are in construction with awe, there is no practical semantic difficulty. Finally, there are a number of cases (ex. 53-57) in which it is difficult if not impossible to assign the terms principal and subordinate in their classic meanings, though the semantic content is not ambiguous. It may be that the clauses are in reality separate sentences.

44. wále tí mbi só agoe na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́, awara mɛ́rɛngɛ́ awe -R1 'My wife, who went to the village, has had a child.'

45. mbi má tɛ́nɛ́ kóé só mɔ tɛnɛ na mbi só awe -L4 'I've understood the whole message which you sent me.'

46. na l'heure só babá tí mbi asára ká lángó míngi awe, mamá tí mbi, amú mbi akpé -N81 'At the time when my father had already been gone for many days, my mother took me and ran away.'

47. jusqu'à, mɛ́rɛngɛ́ wále só, lé tí lo ambɔ́kɔ awe só, lo gá -F7 'Until the girl whose face was ulcerated, she came.'

48. bíaní, só mbi gá na lo, babá na mamá, akúí awe -R1 'Indeed, at that time when I went to him, (my) father and mother were already dead.'

49. agá a-commencé píka mɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí wále só awe -N79 'They had come and begun to beat this girl.'

50. mɔ goe na galá, mɔ vɔ ngunzá, mɔ fáa ngunzá ní awe -A11 'You have gone to the market, you have bought manioc greens, you have cut up the manioc greens.'

51. i sára kɔa tí í, agá nzoní awe -R6 'We have done our work, it came out very well.

52. kɔ́li así gígí awe, ála zía lɔ́rɔ́ da, akpé na wále bíaní awe -F4 'When the man had come out, they put some speed into it, he ran away with the woman.'

53. lá só mbi tɛ awe, mbi tɛ gí na yéŋgá tí mbi -A44 'Today I have already eaten, I've eaten only sauce (lit. with my mouth).'

54. mais bɛ́ tí mbi asɔ ngá awe, mbi yí tí mbi gíngólo apɛ -C30 'But my liver has been hurt, I don't like provocation.'

55. mɔ sára kóbe ngbii, jusqu'à, midi alíngbi awe, mɔ gá mɔ mú sɛmbɛ́ -A11 'You prepare food for a while, until noon has fully come, (then) you up and take the dish.'

56. áni kú jusqu'à lo dú awe na l'hôpital tí Bossangoa na le 22 mars 1961, sí áni kírí ná kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ -L7 'We waited until she had borne a child at the hospital at Bossangoa on March 22, 1961, and then we went back to the village.'

57. lo sí gígí, lo tí na sése, allé, lo gá pendere wále awe -F7 'She came out, she fell on the ground, and behold, she had become a beautiful woman.'

PART THREE: CONSTRUCTION CLASSES

Chapter 10

SUBSTANTIVE PHRASES

The substantive phrase is a syntactic category. That is, the term designates a category of constructions which may function as nouns in a clause. Basically, the substantive phrase is a phrase which may function as the subject or object of a verb. It includes noun phrases, in which a noun is the head; pronoun phrases, in which a pronoun is the head; adjunctive phrases, in which an adjunctive is the head; and connective phrases, in which tí is followed by a substantive or verb phrase. In the following paragraphs examples of such phrases are enclosed within braces { }.

10.10. Noun phrases

10.11. Noun phrases may consist of a simple noun (q.v. chp. 6), as illustrated below (ex. 1-2). They may consist of a noun with the adjunctive ní (ex. 3-4), of which a further discussion is given elsewhere (q.v. 4.21). They may consist of a noun preceded by an adjunctive (ex. 5-7), or followed by one of certain adjunctives, such as só and kóɛ́ (ex. 8-11), or a combination of these (ex. 12-13). The só may be followed by a "relative" construction (q.v. 4.23.10), as is shown in a number of examples (ex. 14-16).

1. {mbunzú} alóndó tí goe na Bangassou -I55 'The White Man arose to go to Bangassou.'
2. mbi zía {ngú} da -A15 'I put water into it.'
3. aɛkɛ {tɛ́nɛ́ ní} laá -R2 'That's the issue right there.'
4. {da ní} agbí da ukú -N79 'The houses burned there (were) five.'
5. lo gá {pendere wále} awe -F7 'She had become a beautiful woman.'
6. ála ɛkɛ tí ála {gí séngé zo} -R10 'As for them, they were just ordinary people.'
7. aɛkɛ na {yɔngɔ́rɔ lége} -R9b 'They are on a far-off road.'

8.	{mɛ́rɛngɛ́ só}, mbi hínga lo kózo ní pɛpɛ -R1	'This child, I didn't know him beforehand.'
9.	{kɔ́li só} ayí tí dutí -F4	'This man wanted to sit down.'
10.	{ákɔ́li kóɛ́} akɛ wara bilharzie -R4a	'Men also catch the liver-fluke disease.'
11.	{áwále kóɛ́} ade ahínga éré tí lo pɛpɛ -R7	'All of the women didn't know his name.'
12.	{yí só kóɛ́}, mɔ kɛ píka na yá tí kpú -R9b	'All these things, you pound them in the mortar.'
13.	lo goe báa {mbakɔ́rɔ wále só} -L186	'She went to see this old woman.'
14.	{yí só mbi tɛnɛ} aɛkɛ tongasó -A42	'The thing which I said is like that.'
15.	{tɛ́nɛ́ tí politique só aɛkɛ na yá tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí í ge} -R2	'the matter of politics which is here in our country.'
16.	{tambéla só Kamara akɛ sára na yá tí magasin tí kángó ákóngbá tí mɔ, na ndápérérɛ́ así na lá kúí, tí balayɛ́ magasin, tí sára átoka ní}, aɛkɛ kusára tí fútángó ní na nzɛ -R1	'The effort which Kamara is putting out in the store where you sell your goods, from morning to night, to sweep the store, to run the errands, is work which must be paid by the month.'

10.12. Another broad class of noun phrases consists of a noun followed by a phrase comprising tí and a noun, a pronoun, or an adjunctive (ex. 1-7). The tí phrase involved may, as is shown elsewhere (q.v. 5.61.10), indicate possession, equation, attribution, destination, location, time, and so forth. In some cases, especially those which appear to be compound nouns (q.v. 6.20), the tí may be omitted without change of sense (ex. 8-11). It is the fact that tí may be inserted so readily, as well as the fact that compound words are otherwise unknown in Sango, that leads to the description of these constructions as phrases.

1.	{bɛ́ tí tɛrɛ} asɔ míngi -L175	'The liver of the spider hurt very much (i.e. spider was angry).'

2. mɔ goe na {da tí kɔ́li} awe apɛ? -C8 'Haven't you gone to the house of a man?'

3. mbi ɛkɛ {babá tí mɛ́rɛngɛ́} fadesó -R1 'I'm the father of a child now.'

4. tɛ́nɛ́ tí mɔ tí má yángá tí {mamá tí mɔ} -A42 'It's up to you to obey your mother.'

5. í hûnda lo tɛnɛtí {sése tí í} -R10 'We pray to him for our country.'

6. mɔ mû {yíngɔ́ tí basánze} -A8 'You take homemade salt.'

7. akɛ sára {tɛ́nɛ́ tí bûbá} -R3 'They are talking foolish talk.'

8. {mbéní mɛ́rɛngɛ́ kɔ́li} ahɔ̂ na lége -L186 'A certain male child passed by on the path.'

9. lo báa áni ndé na {lé lo} -L2 'He sees us differently with his eyes.'

10. {gí ngunzá séngé}, {kugbé séngé} -A8 'Just greens alone, just leaves alone.'

11. así gígí na {lá kótá} - 'He went out at noon.'

10.13. A noun phrase may consist of a noun with tí and a verb following (ex. 1-2). There are also some phrases consisting of two nouns juxtaposed in an appositive relation (ex. 3), and of two or more nouns joined in an additive way by na (ex. 4). In a number of cases, the na phrase following the noun is subordinate (ex. 5-6). This phenomenon is discussed under na (q.v. 5.32.20). Since there may be phrases within phrases within phrases, and since there may be several complements in a noun phrase, some noun phrases are quite long (ex. 7-9).

1. mbi mû {lége tí goe na galá} -A15 'I took the path to go to the market.'

2. {zo tí píka mbi ɔ́kɔ} aɛkɛ pɛpɛ -R6 'There isn't a single person to beat me.'

3. fadê mɔ wara {mɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí mbi Wanzaka Louise} -L4 'You'll find my child Wanzaka Louise.'

4. {áSango na áBanda na áNzakara}, ála ɛkɛ lége ɔ́kɔ -I39 'The Sango, and the Banda, and the Nzakara, they're all alike.'

5. mɔ sára kɔa ahɔ̨́ {ámbéní wále na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ só kóɛ́} -C31 'You work much more than all the other women in this village.'

6. {gí kusára, na nginza} sí atambéla -R1 'It's just work for money that goes.'

7. mɔ báa {place tí lo, lo goe tí dutí da só} -A29 'You see his place where he goes to stay.'

8. mɔ fa {manière tí kɔa ní só mɔ kɛ sára sí mɔ wara na yí tongasó} na mbi apɛ? -C31 'Won't you show me the way of your work which you do so as to get things like this?'

9. lo kóɛ́ aɛkɛ na {yí tí yá tí ngú só, só aɛkɛ dɔngɔ́ yɔngɔ́rɔ tongana tɛ́rɛ́ tí susu} -F7 'She also had the things of the water which are slimy like the bodies of fish.'

10.14. Somewhat different are nouns derived from verbs by the addition of -ngó (q.v. 6.30). In most cases, phrases in which a nominalized verb is the head are substantive phrases (ex. 1-2). But in a verb phrase, and introduced by tí, the nominalized verb is indistinguishable from a plain verb (q.v. chp. 9). The nominalized verb after a verb is a verb intensifier (q.v. 11.16). In any case, such complements as may accompany the nominalized verb are verbal complements: objects, na-phrases, modifier complements, etc., so that internally the phrase with a nominalized verb as its head is constructed like a verb phrase (q.v. chp. 11).

1. {sárángó ngiá na yá da ká} aɛkɛ nzoní apɛ 'Fooling around in the house there isn't good.'

2. {síngó tí mɔ na Dakar}, fadé mɔ gí lége tí sí na camp -L3 'Upon your arrival in Dakar, you will try to get to the camp.'

10.20. Pronoun phrases

Pronoun phrases may consist of a simple pronoun (q.v. chp. 5), as illustrated below (ex. 1-2). Or they may consist of a pronoun and só 'this' (ex. 3), or a pronoun and an adjunctive such as kóɛ́ 'all' (ex. 4), or a pronoun and both só and kóɛ́ (ex. 5). The pronoun may be followed by a tí-noun phrase (ex. 6) or by a tí-adjunctive phrase (ex. 7). A pronoun may be followed by a relative construction (q.v. 4.23.10), as illustrated below (ex. 8). Several adjunctives, among them vɛní 'himself' and ngá 'also' may follow the pronoun directly (ex. 9-11). Finally, there are phrases in which a pronoun is joined additively to another pronoun or to a noun by na (ex. 12-14), and phrases in which a pronoun is in apposition to a following noun phrase (ex. 15-16). In such cases, when a pronoun is joined to a noun, the pronoun always comes first. It may also be said that "pronoun" subsumes certain pronoun phrases, and "noun" in the additive and appositive constructions subsumes noun phrases, so that the resultant phrase may be quite long (ex. 15).

1.	{lo} ɛkɛ bingbá yąma -F4	'He was a reddish animal.'
2.	lo zía {mbi} na magasin tí lo -I39	'He left me in his store.'
3.	{ála só} adutí tongana íta -R2	'These remained like brothers.'
4.	mbi yí, {ála kóę́}, agoe tí voté -R3	'I want all of you to go vote.'
5.	{ála só kóę́} alóndó na vundú -F7	'All of these arose in resentment.'
6.	{ála só tí zo só} agirísa awe	'Those of this man have been lost.'
7.	{lo só tí ngangó vɛní} alíngbi na mbi	'It's the strong one that will suffice for me.'
8.	mɔ ɛkɛ {lo só alíngbi tí sára yí kóę́} -R10	'You're the one who can do everything.'
9.	{mbi vɛní}, mbi ɛkɛ mú na ála kɔa -R3	'It's I myself who give them work.'
10.	{gí mɔ ɔ́kɔ} mɔ yǫ́? -I9	'You by yourself, you'll drink it?'
11.	{í ngá}, í hǫ́ na vacances -L15	'We also, we went on vacation.'
12.	{í na lo} í goe -N80	'She and I, we went.'
13.	{í na mamá}, í gá -N80	'I and mother, we came.'
14.	{mɔ na ámɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí mɔ}, même akúí nzala -R6	'You and your children, you even die of hunger.'
15.	{mɔ zo só, mɔ kę títɛnɛ ála súru li tí mabɔ́kɔ tí mɔ} -R4b	'you, the person who refuses to let them cut the tip of your finger'

16.	{ála á-diacre tí Bangayanga} ahínga pɛpɛ -L27	'They the deacons of Bangayanga didn't know.

10.30. Adjunctive phrases

Adjunctive phrases may consist of a simple adjunctive (q.v. chp. 4), as illustrated below (ex. 1). More commonly, the adjunctive is followed by ní (ex. 2), which may in turn be followed by sɔ́ (ex. 3), or by an adjunctive such as kóé (ex. 4). It may be followed by a relative construction (ex. 5). In some cases, the head adjunctive is followed by a tí-noun phrase (ex. 6-7), a tí-pronoun phrase (ex. 8) or a tí-adjunctive phrase (ex. 9), where the idea is that of attribution, as shown under tí (q.v. 5.61.13).

1.	ayí tí míngɔ {mbéní}, {mbéní} agbí na mbáge -N79	'They wanted to extinguish some, others caught fire nearby.'
2.	{sioní ní} laá -R2	'The evil (thing) is this.'
3.	{otá ní sɔ́}, lo commencé tí quitté compagne tí lo -I39	'The third (year) he began to leave his spouse.'
4.	{ámbéní kóé} ahɔ̨ tí ála	'All the rest left.'
5.	{ámbéní sɔ́ bɛ́ tí ála avɔkɔ́}, aɛkɛ da míngi -R2	'There are many others, whose livers are black.'
6.	abáa {pendere tí ngú} -R2	'They see the beauty of the water.'
7.	{ngangó tí lo} ade ahúnzi pɛpɛ -L186	'His strength was not yet exhausted.'
8.	í girísa {France na kótá tí lo} pɛpɛ -R2	'We won't forget France and her greatness.'
9.	{mbéní tí saleté} akɛ sí gígí -A13	'Some dirty (thing) was coming out.'

10.40. Connective phrases

Connective phrases used substantively are different from any of the above, in that the connective by itself can never function substantively. One can supply a vague filler head noun, such as yí 'thing' or tɛ́nɛ́ 'affair,' but this cannot be used as a classificatory criterion. The types which are found in substantival functions are tí-noun phrases (ex. 1-2), tí-pronoun phrases (ex. 3-4), tí-adjunctive phrases (ex. 5), and tí-verb phrases (ex. 6).

1. {tí ázo kóé só}, amú nginza na nzɛ -R1 'As for all these people, they get money by the month.'
2. {tí taá kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi} laá -A8 'This is that of my real village.'
3. fadesó, {tí í na yángá tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́} ahúnzi tí lo awe -R7f 'Now, ours in the language of the country is all over.'
4. {tí ála}, aɛkɛ lángó miombe -R1 'Theirs is eight days.'
5. agá sioní, ahɔ̂ {tí giriri} -R3 'It became bad, surpassing that of former times.'
6. {tí sára só} aɛkɛ nzoní apɛ 'To do this is not good.'

10.50. Verb phrases

Mention is made under nouns (q.v. 6.10) of a few cases in which verbs are used substantively, modified or not by an adjunctive, but this usage is quite rare (ex. 1-2).

1. tɛ̂nɛ̂ tí {nzí tí mɔ} -R1 'the fact about your theft'
2. {toto ní} ade na yángá tí lo -L186 'The crying remained in his mouth (i.e. he continued to cry).'

Chapter 11

VERB PHRASES

The verb phrase consists of a verb, with or without complements. It is used in two ways. With a subject and/ or subject marker a-, the verb phrase is the predicate of a clause. Without substantive subject or a-, and introduced by tí, it is a constituent of another verb phrase or of a noun phrase (q.v. 10.10). Approximately 13 percent of the verb phrases in the corpus comprise only a verb (q.v. chp. 9). This verb may be simple, consisting of one stem, or compound, consisting of ɛkɛ 'to be,' gá 'to come,' or goe 'to go' with another verb. This unmodified verb phrase (ex. 1-12) is especially common in series of verbs which are closely related, as for example: lo lőndő lo kpé 'He got up, he ran.'

1.	mbi tɛ alíngbi na mbi apɛ -A44	'I ate, it wasn't enough for me.'
2.	í goe í lángő ká -N80	'We went and slept there.'
3.	bɛ́ tí ní asɔ, sí ní píka lo -N79	'Her liver hurt, so she hit her.'
4.	mbi de mbi sára pɛpɛ -I39	'I still haven't done it (lit. I remain, I have not done it).'
5.	babá tí mbi, na mamá tí mbi, kóé akúí awe -R1	'My father and my mother, both have died.'
6.	mɔ má awe Albert? -R4d	'Did you hear, Albert?'
7.	zía mbéní na wá, í kɛ tɛ -I55	'Put some on the fire, we'll be eating.'
8.	gí ngú só aɛkɛ na wá, aɛkɛ kpɔrɔ -A8	'Only the water which is on the fire is boiling.'
9.	ámbéní avɔ, ámbéní akɛ gá -N78	'Some bought, some were coming.'
10.	agá mú, agá zía da -A8	'They came and took, they came and put it in.'
11.	kɔa só zo kóé zo agoe sára, ahúnda nginza -R1	'The work which all men go to do, requires payment.'
12.	na ngú só, mbi yí, ála kóé, agoe tí voté, tongana só, ála voté kózo ní -R3	'This year, I want all of you to go to vote, just as you voted before.'

11.10. Complements and their order

The word "complement" covers all constituent parts of the verb phrase other than the head verb. In dealing with complements, it is necessary to distinguish clearly between their form and their function, since some construction types serve more than one function, and since some functions are served by more than one construction type. The two concepts coincide only partially.

The construction types serving as complements of verbs are:

SP - substantive phrase (q.v. chp. 10), including noun and pronoun phrases and connective phrases
AV̶ - verbal adjunctives (q.v. 4.30)
A - noun adjunctives (q.v. chp. 4)
Cl - clauses (q.v. chp. 15)

The functions or phrase-slots are:

O - object
CC - copulative complement
MC - modifier complement, including those of time, place, manner, means, reason, etc.
SI - subject intensifier
VI - verb intensifier

The correspondences between these two sets of entities are as follows:

Construction type	Serves as
SP	O, CC, SI (restrictions to be described), VI (only nominalized verbs), MC (both noun phrases and connective phrases)
AV̶	MC
A	O, CC
Cl	O, CC

Function	Is served by
O	SP, A, Cl
CC	SP, A, Cl
MC	SP, Av̶
SI	SP (yí tí + pronoun, or simply tí + pronoun)
VI	SP (nominalized verbs)

The order in which these elements may occur is fairly free, so that it is difficult to chart. A few general remarks may be made at this time.

1. The constituent occurring most frequently immediately after the verb is the object, of whatever nature. Examples in which an object immediately follows a verb make up almost 40 per cent of the total number of verb phrases. Next in frequency of occurrence immediately after the verb is the na phrase, which appears in this position in 19.5 per cent of the examples in the corpus.

2. The greatest number of complements appearing in the verb phrase is five. Phrases comprising one or two complements are common, those with three are fairly rare, those with four or five are extremely rare.

3. Each constituent may have its own internal constituents, according to its own rules, which may be quite complex. There is a general inverse correlation between the complexity of individual constituents and the number of constituents in the phrase, but it is not absolute.

4. The verb phrase introduced by tí comprises the same constituents as that having a subject, but there are in general fewer of them.

5. It is very rare that any other complement in a verb phrase follows a tí-verb phrase complement.

6. It is quite rare that any other complement follows one which is itself a clause.

In all examples below, the verb will be underlined, and the various complements set off by vertical bars, inclusively. Anything that occurs after the last bar is not part of the verb phrase.

11.11. The object of the verb needs little explanation, as it coincides closely in Sango with the notion of the object in many other languages. As was suggested in the table above, the object may be a substantive phrase, such as a noun phrase (ex. 1-5) or more than one noun phrase (ex. 6), a pronoun phrase (ex. 7), or a phrase consisting of tí and a noun, a pronoun, or an adjunctive (ex. 8). It may be an adjunctive (ex. 9-11) or a clause (ex. 12-18). In more complex verb phrases, the object may be followed by an adjunctive (ex. 19-30) with or without further complements. Or it may be followed by a na phrase (ex. 31-45), or a tí-verb phrase (ex. 46-47), or by a substantive phrase, usually a connective phrase, serving as a modifier complement (ex. 48-52). Finally, in a few cases there is a second object (ex. 53).

1.	nzala ahánda | zo || sí zo atí na hánda -F4	'Hunger tricks a man, so that he falls into temptation.'
2.	mbi wara | nginza | apɛ -A44	'I haven't received any money.'
3.	et puis ahé | bíá |, acommencé tí sára | ngiá | tí hé bíá | -A21	'And then they sang songs, they began to play, to sing songs.'
4.	mbi báa | yí tí kírí na question tí mɔ só mɔ húnda na mbi | -L11	'I see the answer to return to your question which you asked of me.'
5.	mɔ mú | rognon só mɔ préparé ní na vin na l'ail sí alángó só | -R9a	'Take the kidneys which you have prepared with wine and with garlic and which have stood.'
6.	mbi wara | íta tí mbi tí wále, na íta tí mbi tí kɔ́li | -N80	'I have found my sister and my brother.'
7.	mbéní íta akɛ gí hánda | lo | -C31	'Another sister is just enticing him.'
8.	fadɛ́ tɛ́nɛ́ tí ála ahɔ́ | tí ákótá zo tí Athènes, na tí Rome | -R10	'Their word will surpass that of the people of Athens and of Rome.'
9.	mɔ yí tí vɔ | yę -I9	'What do you want to buy?'
10.	abáa | pendere tí ngú | -R2	'They see the beauty of the water.'
11.	íta, ní laá mbi kɛ tenɛ | só | apɛ -C31	'Sister, it's for this reason that I didn't say this.'
12.	mɔ tenɛ | mbi kɛ citoyen | -R6	'You say, "I am a citizen."'
13.	mbi húnda | tenɛtí yę mbi wara mbɛ́tí tí ála só pepɛ | -L6	'I ask, "Why haven't I received a letter from you?"'
14.	mbi báa | ázo tí France asára nzoní míngi | -R2	'I see that the people of France have done much good.'
15.	mbi pensé | ayɔ míngi | -L175	'I think it is very far.'
16.	mbi hínga | kusára tí mbi aɛkɛ tí fángó ngbanga | -R1	'I know that my job is to judge cases.'

17. mbi yí | mɔ gá na ní | -C29 'I want you to come with it.'

18. mɔ zía | ábákoyá ní así gígí míngi na yáká ní sí | -F4 'Let a lot of baboons come out into the garden first.'

19. ála kɛ fúta | mɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí mɔ | nzoní? | -R1 'Are they paying your son well?'

20. mbi zía | ngú | da | -A15 'I put water into it.'

21. babá asára | kɔa | da | kózo | -N81 'Father did work there first.'

22. fadé akɛ wara | yí | da | míngi | -R6 'They will be finding many things in it.'

23. fadé akɛ éré | ála | ánde | na lángó tí nzɛ tí juillet | -R7b 'They will be calling you later on a day in July.'

24. kɔa tí politique, mbi ɛkɛ éré | ála | da | na lá tí dimanche, | na 5 avril | -R3 'The work of politics, I am calling you to it on Sunday, on April 5.'

25. mɔ wara | lo | ká | na kéké ní | ká | -A29 'You will find him there in the tree there.'

26. áíta tí mbi, í bara | ála | kóé | na dimanche so | lá só | -R9a 'My brothers, we greet you all on this Sunday today.'

27. ála commencé tí kamáta |yí só | tongasó | tí sára na ámonganga tí ála | -A48 'They began to take these things in this way to make their medicines.'

28. sentinelle agbó | mbi | da | lá kóé | -N81 'The watchman caught me there every day.'

29. mɔ kɛ fa | tɛ́rɛ́ tí mɔ | tongasó | ngbangatí yę | -C31 'For what reason are you showing off in this way?'

30. mbi bara | mɔ | míngi | na á-famille | kóé | ngá | -L5 'I greet you cordially and all the family also.'

31. lo fáa | kámba | na gɔ́ tí woga | awe -F4 'He cut the cord from the neck of the antelope.'

32. mɔ éré áni tɛnɛtí kété l'école tí sára | ngiá | na áni | -L27 'You will call us for an elementary school to have fun with us.'

33. mɔ sára | tí mbi | na mbi | -L4 'You make mine for me.'

34. ála yú | pɔ́rɔ́ tí ála | na gɛ́rɛ́ tí ála | nzoní | -R3 'Put your shoes on your feet.'

35. ála kɛ tɛnɛ | tɛ́nɛ́ ní só | gí na yángá | séngé | -R2 'They're just saying this with their mouths.'

36. í zɔ́ | lo | gí na ndó tí wá | tongasó | ngbii | -I55 'We roasted it on top of the fire in this way for a long time.'

37. mɔ commencé tí fá | yángá tí áni | na ázo | ká | na Amérique | na á-américain | -L27 'You have begun to teach our language to the people over there in America, to the Americans.'

38. mbi tɛnɛ | ní | na lo | kóé | lé na lé | -R2 'I told it to him entirely, face to face.'

39. ála kú | tanga tí tɛ́nɛ́ | kóé | na sept-heures-et-demie | na yángá tí ámbunzú | -R7f 'Wait for the rest of the story at seven thirty in the language of the White People.'

40. ála to | mbɛ́tí | na direction tí jeunesse-sports | na Bangui | ge | -R7e 'Send letters to the head office of youth and sports in Bangui here.'

41. même í gá na ndo só gí ngbangatí gáa, tí sára | tɛ́nɛ́ | na ála | na yá tí radio | lá só | -R6 'We've come here just to see, and to talk with you by radio today.'

42. alíngbi tí tɔ́ | ngú | na lo | na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ | tí sukúla | -A42 'You must fetch water for him to the village to wash up.'

43. mbi húnda | ndá tí tɛ́nɛ́ só | na Cécile Simba | tí má réponse ní | -L171 'I'm asking the meaning of this affair of Cécile Simba to hear the answer to it.'

44. mbi mú | merci | na Nzapá | tɛnɛtí bɛ́ nzoní só lo sára na wále tí mbi so míngi míngi | -L7 'I give thanks to God because of the very great goodness which He has showed to my wife.'

45. ngiá así | bɛ́ tí ázo | na lá ní só | tɛnɛtí mɔ | tongana gángó tí mɔ vɛní | -L27 'Joy filled the hearts (lit. livers) of the people on that day because of you, just as if you had come.'

46. akánga | gbánda | tí fáa yąma | -A50 'We fastened the nets to kill animals.'

47. í báa | lo | tí sára isɔrɔ́ na lo | ngbangatí lo ɛkɛ président tí communauté | -R7a 'We saw him to chat with him because he is the president of the community.'

48. mbi língbi tí kɛ̨ | á-famille kóé | ngbangtí só | pɛpɛ -N35 'I cannot reject my entire family just because of this.'

49. mɔ dé | éré tí lo | ngbangatí yɛ̨ | -F7 'You mentioned his name for what reason?'

50. mɔ língbi tí kɛ̨ | lo | ngbangatí bɔngɔ́ | lá wa | -C31 'How could you ever reject him just on account of clothes?'

51. mɔ wara | mbi | lá só | -N35 'Y[illegible]ave found me today.'

52. ála ɛkɛ kamáta | mbéní yí | tongana yí tí sára na nganga | -A48 'They took something like the thing with which medicine is made.'

53. ála éré | lo | Pierre | -L27 'They called him Peter.'

The term "copulative complement" describes a complement which formally resembles the object but which is distinguished from the object by the fact that it is semantically related to the subject of the verb. e.g. to mark identification, equivalence, etc. The verbs ɛkɛ 'be' (ex. 54-71), gá 'become' (ex. 72-77), dutí 'stay' (ex. 78-79), ngbá 'remain' (ex. 80-81), and de 'remain' (ex. 82), which may be classified as copulative verbs, may take copulative complements. The verb língbi without a subject 'it is necessary' may take a clause only as copulative complement (ex. 83). The copulative complement may be a pronoun (ex. 54), a noun phrase (ex. 55-59), an adjunctive (ex. 60-62), a connective phrase consisting of tí and a verb, or tí and a noun, pronoun, or adjunctive (ex. 63) or a clause (ex. 64, 83).

54. aɛkɛ | mbi | -R1 'It's me.'

55. aɛkɛ | yąma | -A44 'It was an animal.'

56. aɛkɛ | tɛ́nɛ́ tí mú merci na Nzapá míngi | -L17 'It is an occasion to thank God fervently.'

57. lá tí vote aɛkɛ | lá tí tiri | pɛpɛ -R3 'Voting day is not a day to fight.'

58. lo ɛkɛ | mérɛngé wále, wala mérɛngé kɔ́li | -A49 'It is a girl child or a boy child.'

59. Pierre aɛkɛ | zo tí lé tí ngú, zo tí gíngó ásusu | giriri | -R10 'Peter was previously a man of the water, a man who caught fish.'

60. ngɔ́ ní aɛkɛ | gí osió | -A21 'The boats were just four.'

61. tɛ́nɛ́ ní aɛkɛ | nzoní | pɛpɛ -L2 'The affair is not good.'

62. aɛkɛ | tí mɔ | pɛpɛ -C29 'It's not yours.'

63. kɔa tí lo aɛkɛ | tí lɛkɛ ngbanga tí ázo tí kusára na ámbunzú | -R1 'His work is to fix up the troubles of working men with White Men.'

64. aɛkɛ | lo lángó na ndó tí sése míngi | laá -R7f 'It's (because) he sleeps so much on the ground, that's why.'

65. mbi ɛkɛ | babá tí mɛ́rɛngɛ́ | fadesó | -R1 'I am the father of a child now.'

66. aɛkɛ | kɔ́li tí gíngó mbi | lá wa | -C31 'He is a man to seek for me what day (i.e. It's ridiculous to think that ...)!'

67. mɔ ɛkɛ | Yakoma | tí tɛ mbúrú | pɛpɛ -A8 'You're not a Yakoma, to eat palm nuts!'

68. aɛkɛ | nzoní | míngi | na mbi | -A42 'It very good for me.'

69. mbi ɛkɛ | yɔngɔ́rɔ | na mɔ | -L27 'I am far away from you.'

70. yí aɛkɛ | míngi | tí sára | -L11 'There are many things to do.'

71. aɛkɛ | nzoní | í sɛ́ra yí míngi na yá tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí í | -R2 'It's good that we do many things in our country.'

72. lo commencé tí gá | zo | awe -A49 'He had already begun to become a person.'

73. kɔkɔ ní agá | ngangó | awe -A8 'The kɔkɔ leaves have already become tough.'

74. mɔ gá | citoyen | tongana yɛ | -R6 'In what way do you become a citizen?'

75. mbi gá | pendere kɔ́li | na Rafai | -I39 'I became an adolescent at Rafai.'

76. li tí ála agá | kóɛ́ | bale ɔ́kɔ na óse | -R10	'Their number became in all twelve.'
77. áyí agá | nzoní | na Bogira | fadesó | míngi | -L2	'Things have become very good now at Bogira.'
78. mɔ dutí | kpó | -F7	'You remain quiet.'
79. í dutí | nzoní | na lé tí ámbéní mbá tí í na ndó tí sése | -R2	'We remain on good terms with our other companions over the earth.'
80. mbi ngbạ́ | mɛ́rɛngɛ́ | -A21	'I remained a child.'
81. mɔ sukúla tɛ́rɛ́ ní pɛpɛ, angbá | saletɛ́ | sɛ́ngɛ́ sɛ́ngɛ́ | -A8	'You don't wash the outside of it, it remains just dirty.'
82. mbi de | kɛ́tɛ́ kɛ́tɛ́ | -N81	'I was still very small.'
83. alíngbi | mɔ hínga lé tí lo sí | -F4	'It is necessary that you recognize his face.'

11.12. The category of modifier complements deserves some attention. It may be said to include broadly those complements which modify the verb itself in some formal manner analogous to the adverbial concept of European languages. The inclusion of so many complements under one head is justified on three grounds:

1. In only some cases are the internal distinctions, such as time, place, and manner, regularly correlated with formal criteria. As will be seen from the examples, some of these sub-functions are served by various construction-types, and some construction-types serve different sub-functions.

2. In many instances, the criteria are purely semantic, so that there are numerous borderline cases or cases of apparent overlapping which would preclude clear analysis at the grammatical level.

3. There are a number of miscellaneous modifiers which do not fit semantically into any of the major divisions. If one were to follow the semantic distinctions entirely, the number of different kinds of complements would be quite indefinite, depending upon subjective criteria of meaning, which preclude contrastive distinctions.

Thus, when a given construction type is clearly and exclusively associated with one semantic subdivision of the modifier complement, this will be indicated. Where the borders are not sharply defined, clear examples can serve to cover the whole class without sacrifice of precision in the overall description.

The modifier complement may be a verbal adjunctive (ex. 1-31), which may or may not be followed by other complements. It may also be a connective phrase, with tenɛtí, ngbangatí, and tongana (ex. 32-38). It may be a noun phrase, expressing time when the head noun is lá 'day' or ngú 'year' (ex. 39-44) or some other semantic categories with other head nouns (ex. 45-46). Phrases introduced by na are also modifier complements, but are treated separately below in 11.13. The same is true of tí-verb phrases, in 11.14.

1. tɛnɛtí yę mbi tɛnɛ | tongasɔ́? | -L27 — 'Why did I speak in this way?'
2. âzo ní acommencê tí hú | míngi | -I39 — 'The people began to prosper greatly.'
3. Nzapá afa na lo tí goe | da | -A49 — 'God instructed him to go there.'
4. fadê mɔ má | nzoní | -I39 — 'You will hear well.'
5. angbá | kêtê, | âla poisonnê mbi -N81 — 'A little more, and they would have poisoned me.'
6. mbi pensé tí sí | fadesó | -R9b — 'I'm planning to arrive now.'
7. na ndá ní lo dutí | ká | -F7 — 'In the end he remained there.'
8. mɔ kú mbi mbi kę gá | ngá | -C30 — 'Wait for me, I'm coming also.'
9. lo na zo vɔkɔ́ agá bóngbi | ɔ́kɔ | -R2 — 'He and the Black Men came and gathered together.'
10. lo tɛ | kóê | -L17 — 'He ate (it) completely.'
11. mɔ lekɛ | kóê | awe -A8 — 'You have completely finished fixing it.'
12. lo kɛ lángɔ́ | da | sêngê | -R1 — 'He is sleeping there free.'
13. mɔ goe | ká | doucement doucement | -A29 — 'You go there very quietly.'
14. mɔ túku | da | ngbii | kóê | -A11 — 'You pour (it) in, until it is all in (lit. a long time, complete).'

15. í hínga | kóé | ge | na yá tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí République Centrafricaine, | ála kɛ fa na í mbɛ́tí | -R2
'We know well here, in the Central African Republic, they are teaching us to read.'

16. dole ní akɛ tambéla | tongasó | na lá kúí | -I55
'The elephant was walking in this way in the evening.'

17. mbi ɛkɛ | ká | na mbéní íta tí mbi ní || na ngonda | ká | ngbii, jusqu'à | -I39
'I was there with a certain brother of mine, there in the bush, for a long time.'

18. mbi kɛ toto | ngá | na tɛ́rɛ́ ní | lá só | -A49
'I was also crying beside it today.'

19. fadesó, mbi kɛ mú | ánde | na lo | congé | -R1
'Now, I'm going to give him later a vacation.'

20. sab'a aɛkɛ mbéní wɛ̨ só alɛkɛ | tongasó, | tí gbó na wɛ̨ na lé tí wá | -A13
'A "sab'a" is a kind of tool which is made in such a way as to grab the iron out of the fire.'

21. agá | kóé | tongana tɛ́rɛ́ tí mbɛ́tí vɛní | -R9b
'It becomes altogether like the body of the letter.'

22. mɔ húnda | tongasó | ngbangatí yɛ̨ | -L168
'For what reason did you ask in this way?'

23. fadé ála gá | ánde | áfiní zo | -R10
'They will later become new men.'

24. angbá | fadesó, | gí yáká tí nzó, na tí lɔ́sɔ, na tí ananas | -R6
'There remain now only the fields of corn, of rice, and of pineapples.'

25. fadé akɛ gá | ánde | kɔ́tá kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́, | tongana ámbéní só í dé ándo éré tí ála fadé fadé só, Israel na Allemagne na URSS | -R2
'It will become later a great country, like those others which are already called Israel, and Germany, and the USSR.'

26. fadé lo gá | ánde | mbéní zo | tongasó, | na pópó tí ázo tí ní | -R10
'He will become later another man like this in the midst of his men.'

27. akɛ mú | ánde | mɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí kɔ́li bale ótá, | mɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí wále bale ɔ́kɔ | -R7e	'They will be taking later thirty boys and ten girls.'
28. mbi wara | ngá | mbéní mbɛ́tí | ge | -R7f	'I've received also another letter here.'
29. kɔ́á akɛ tomba | ká | zo | tómbángó | -R4b	'Death is really driving people away over there.'
30. mbi língbi tí sára | tongasó | ɔ́kɔ | na mɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí mbi | pɛpɛ -A49	'I could not do this to my child at all.'
31. ála kóɛ́ aɛkɛ | ká | na Nice, | tongana tí ndo sɔ́, na République Centrafricaine wala na Bangui kótá kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí í | -R2	'They are all there, in Nice, just like here, in the Central African Republic or in Bangui our big city.'
32. ahúnda | tɛnɛtí crédit | -R6	'He asks for credit.'
33. akɛ | ngbangatí wále | ɔ́kɔ | pɛpɛ -R4a	'It's not just for women.'
34. Monsieur S. ade tí húnda | ngbanga ní | lá kóé | -L11	'Mr. S. is still asking for it every day.'
35. li tí mɛ́rɛngɛ́ a-tourné | tongana kobéla tí ngbálo | -L27	'The head of the child turned, as with the sickness apoplexy.'
36. í ɛkɛ | tongana turúgu | fadesó | -R3	'We are like soldiers now.'
37. éré tí ála ahú | tongana tí ámbéní zo | pɛpɛ -R10	'Their names were not beautiful like those of other people.'
38. mbi kɛ sára | tongana yɛ̨ | fadesó | -R1	'What shall I do now?'
39. moi wara mbéní yí da, mbi tɛ | lá kóé lá kóé | -A44	'If I find something else there, I always eat it.'
40. mbi gá | lá só | -R3	'I came today.'
41. aɛkɛ sára | ngú na ngú? | -L27	'Do they do (this) every year?'
42. aɛkɛ | lá kóé |tɛ́nɛ́ tí nzɛ́rɛ́ngó na bɛ́ tí ála | pɛpɛ -R10	'It isn't every day something which pleases their liver.'

43. lo lángó | ngú bale otá na ndó ní miombe | na ndó tí sése só | -R7f — 'He has slept (i.e. lived) thirty eight years on this earth.'

44. alóndó | lá só | tí goe na Paris | -R7d — 'He left today to go to Paris.'

45. mbi tɛnɛ | lége óse ní, | ámbéní só bɛ́ tí ála avɔkɔ́, aɛkɛ da míngi | -R2 — 'I tell you the second time, there are many others whose liver is black.'

46. mbɛ́tí tí ála akɛ gá | par poste | -R9b — 'Your letter came by mail.'

47. lo goe | genɛ | — 'He went visiting (lit. he went, a stranger).'

11.13. The phrase consisting of na and a noun phrase or a pronoun phrase is extremely prevalent (q.v. 5.32.20) as is seen from the statistical tables at the end of this chapter. Many verb phrases contain two or three na phrases. These serve as modifier complements, and may be roughly divided into several semantic categories, the precise shade of meaning depending of course upon the verb and the noun involved: place or direction (ex. 1-12), time (ex. 13), accompaniment or possession (ex. 14-19), benefaction (ex. 20-33), manner or instrument (ex. 34), end goal (ex. 35-36), and so on. Though these divisions are in most cases clear, there are some cases of borderline indeterminacy, so that this presentation is intended rather as an indication of the range of values of the na phrase than as a grammatical classification. Sometimes, na is omitted, but may be supplied. Where this is the case in the examples, na is inserted in parentheses.

In cases where more than one na phrase complement occurs in a verb phrase, certain patterns of priority emerge from the data. First, the beneficiary complement regularly, though not invariably, precedes complements of time, place, manner, means, subject, and so on. Likewise, complements of possession and accompaniment and complements of end goal regularly precede others in the phrase. In very many instances, both or all na phrase complements are complements of place and/or time, in which case the predominant order is place-time. Where two na phrase complements are of the same sort, while a third is of another sort, the two like ones go together and obey the same order of priorities as single ones. Complements of means, manner, and goal, and so on, do not occur frequently enough, or else do not follow consistent enough patterns, to give grounds for generalization.

1.	kózo só mbi ɛkɛ | na l'hôpital | -N35	'First of all I was in the hospital.'
2.	amú lé tí wá míngi míngi azía | na ndó ní | -A8	'They took very many coals and put (them) on top of it.'
3.	lo dutí | na lí tí kéké | tongasó | -A29	'He is sitting in the top of the tree like this.'
4.	í tɛnɛ | na lé tí ála | kóé | (na) ndo só, | ámbunzú só aɛkɛ ge na République Centrafricaine, (...) í yí ɔ́kɔ gí títɛnɛ, ála lɛkɛ kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ na í awe -R2	'We say before all of you here, White Men who are here in the Central African Republic,... "We just want you to build up the country with us."'
5.	ála gá | na tɛ́rɛ́ ní | míngi míngi, | tí gá tí sára tɛ́nɛ́ | -A48	'They came beside it in great numbers to come to talk.'
6.	mbi goe lángó | na da tí mbéní zo ní | na mbáge tí gbɛ́ ní | ká | -N81	'I went and slept in the house of someone else over there on the lower side.'
7.	mbi sí | na Bambari | na ndo só, | na le 4 janvier 1941 | -I39	'I arrived in Bambari here on January 4, 1941.'
8.	mɔ pensé kóbe kóé aɛkɛ | na galá | (na) ndo só | gí tí mɔ́? | -C30	'Do you think that all the food is in the market here only for you?'
9.	lo kírí | na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ | tí mú mɛ́rɛngɛ́ só | -L175	'He returned to the village to take this child.'
10.	mɔ gá | na marché | tí vɔ kóbe | lá wa | -C30	'You came to the market to buy food what day?' ('what day' expresses strong skepticism.)
11.	í na lo í dutí | na ndo só | jusqu'à, l'heure só lo báa kɔ́á tí mbi, mbi báa kɔ́á tí lo | -N35	'She and I will remain here, until the time when she sees my death, (or) I see her death.'

12. mɔ tɔ́ | na yá tí ngú | tɔ́ngó | -A8 — 'You cook it in water.'

13. fadé í báa | na yá tí nzɛ só | -C29 — 'We will see this month.'

14. mbi ɛkɛ | na kobéla só ére ní bilharzie, mbéní ákétɔ́ kété yąma só | -R4a — 'I have the disease that is called schistozomiasis, those tiny little bugs.'

15. ázo tí mbi, ála ɛkɛ | na ngiá míngi | ngbangatí Trompette ní só, ála wara só | -L1 — 'My people are rejoicing greatly on account of the Trumpet (a magazine) which they have received.'

16. lo ɛkɛ | na íta tí lo | na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ | séngé | na wále tí lo | kóé | -L7 — 'He is with his brother in the village (doing) nothing, and with his wife also.'

17. ála mú mbéní kété kóbe tí goe | na ní | na yá tí ngonda | tí tɛ | -A48 — 'They took a little food to go with it into the bush to eat.'

18. mbi ɛkɛ | na mbéní tɛ́nɛ́ | tí tɛnɛ | míngi | pɛpɛ -N35 — 'I don't have very many things to say.'

19. lo éré | na kóbe | tɛnɛtí tɛ́ngó ní | -L17 — 'He begged for food for eating.'

20. só Nzapá amú | na áni | -A15 — 'This God has given to us.'

21. mɔ diminué | na mbi | ngá | ngéré ní | ma -C30 — 'Come on and reduce the price for me, now.'

22. ngú, amú | na lo | gí na cuillère | -A9 — 'Water, they gave him only in a spoon.'

23. ála sára | na í | (na) ndo só, | sioní | míngi | -R2 — 'They did us here a great deal of harm.'

24. mbi kɛ tɛnɛ | na ála, | na lé tí ála kóé, | gouvernement ní aɛkɛ na ti tí mbi | -R3 — 'I'm telling you, in the presence of you all, the government is in my hands.'

25. mɔ ɛkɛ súku | na lo | ngbangatí tambéla só lo ɛkɛ fatigué na pɛkɔ́ tí mɔ | -A49 — 'You scold him severely, because of the way he tires himself out following after you.'

26.	bíá só anzerɛ | na mbi | lá kóé | -A42	'This song is pleasing to me always.'
27.	mbi tɛnɛ | na ála kóé, |fadesó, ála só aɛkɛ ge | -R2	'I tell you all, "Now these are here."'
28.	zo wa só avɔ | na mɔ | pendere bɔngɔ́ ní só | -C31	'Who was it that bought for you these beautiful clothes?'
29.	mbi mú | na mɔ | merci | míngi | -C30	'I give you many thanks.'
30.	apíka | na ála | mbéní pendere bíá ɔ́kɔ, | tí mú ngiá na bɛ́ tí ála | -R9b	'We will play for you another beautiful song, to give joy to your livers.'
31.	ála mú | na lo | éré só | na lo | tongasó | -L7	'They gave him this name to him in this way.'
32.	lo kɛ mú | na mɔ | nginza | tí bata na lo | -R1	'He's giving you money to keep him.'
33.	ála tɛnɛ | na nzoní bɛ́ | yí só alíngbi na pɔ́pó tí ála | ɔ́kɔ, pɛpɛ -R1	'You haven't said at all in good faith that which is fitting between you.'
34.	ála sára | na ngáfó | -A13	'They made (it) into hoes.'
35.	mɔ wara | na yí | tongasó | na mbi | apɛ -C30	'You haven't found a thing like this for me.'

11.14. A phrase consisting of tí and a verb phrase (q.v. 5.64) is also a common complement. The context may indicate a meaning of intention or purpose, or simply a relation of subordination of the tí phrase to the head verb. In every case, the implied subject is the same as that of the head verb. If there is a need to change the subject or to loosen the sentence structure, recourse is had on a different syntactic level to a subordinate clause introduced by títɛnɛ (q.v. 5.70), which is semantically equivalent to tí + verb. A number of examples are given below (ex. 1-14). The phrase in which tí governs the nominalized verb (q.v. 6.30) has, in a verb phrase, the same function as the tí-verb phrase. Examples are given below (ex. 15-17). Finally, a verb introduced by ngbangatí or tɛnɛtí (q.v. 5.40) also has basically the same force, except that the purposive idea is more explicit (ex. 18-19).

1. mbi língbi | tí kę mɔ fadesó | pepɛ -L27 'I can't reject you now.'
2. mbi yí | tí goe l'école | -A49 'I wanted to go to school.'
3. mbi kę | tí fúta lo | awe -R1 'I've refused to pay him.'
4. kɔ́li ní a-obligé | tí sára bɔn | -L162 'The husband is forced to incur debts.'
5. ála gá | tí wara mbi | -N35 'They came to find me.'
6. áni goe | tí tó ngú | -A15 'We went to fetch water.'
7. lo commencé | tí dé kéké | -L175 'He began to chop the tree.'
8. lo lóndó | tí goe na berá | -I39 'He arose to go to war.'
9. ála báa mɛ́nɛ́ só angbá | tí yuru na hɔ̨́ tí mɛ́rɛngɛ́ ní | -L17 'They saw the blood which continued to run from the nose of the child.'
10. mbi de | tí hínga áíta tí mbi mɛ́rɛngɛ́ ká | apɛ -N80 'I still didn't know my sisters, the other children, there.'
11. mbi hínga | tí tɔ́ ngunzá | pepɛ -A8 'I don't know how to cook greens.'
12. tongana mbi wara nginza míngi, só akę língbi | tí tɛ kóbe, | na tí sára yí tí áwále | -I9 'When I get a lot of money, that will be enough to eat food, and to do the work of women.'
13. lo kę | tí sára ngiá na kɔ́li ní | ngbangatí dimanche óse, wala nzɛ ɔ́kɔ | -L162 'She refuses to chat with her husband for two weeks or a month.'
14. fadesó, í ngbá tí débrouillé | tí fáa gí ndembu, | tí gí gí áwótoro ní, | tí wara na nginza | -I55 'Right now, we're still making out, just to cut rubber, to hunt for bees, to get some money.'
15. alíngbi tí kę | tí fútángó lo | lá ɔ́kɔ | pepɛ -R1 'You can't ever refuse to pay him.'
16. lo ngbá | tí fángó yáká | tí tóngó ngú, | tí balayé yá da, | tí sárángó kóbe | -L186 'She still continues to work a garden, to fetch water, to sweep inside her house, to prepare food.'

17. tɛnɛtí yɛ̧ mɔ gá | tí vɔ́ngó kóbe na galá | -C30 'Why did you come to buy food at the market?'

18. í gá | na ndo só | gí mbgangatí báa | -R6 'We've come here just to see.'

19. í vɔ | na nginza, | tɛnɛtí payɛ́ l'impôt | -A50 'We sell it for money, to pay taxes.'

11.15. The subject intensifier, as the name indicates, serves to emphasize the subject semantically in a manner functionally equivalent to the English expressions 'subject + himself,' or 'as for + subject.' The subject intensifier consists either of the noun phrase yí tí + pronoun 'thing of + pronoun' (ex. 1-2), or more usually simply of tí + pronoun (ex. 3-14). The tendency is strong, though not absolute, to place the subject intensifier immediately next to the verb. There is one example of the use of lo ɔ́kɔ 'he alone' in the verb phrase as a sort of subject intensifier (ex. 15).

1. lo goe | yí tí lo | na galá 'As for him, he went to market.'
2. lo ngbá | yí tí lo | -A21 'As for him, he stayed.'
3. ázo tí France abáa | tí ála | -R2 'The people of France themselves saw.'
4. mbi yí | tí mbi | pɛpɛ -C30 'As for me, I don't want it.'
5. woga akpé | tí lo | bíaní | awe -F4 'The antelope definitely had run away.'
6. ála kɛ kírí | tí ála | ká | tí goe -I55 'As for them, they went back there to go.'
7. mbi kɛ ngbá | tí mbi | na yí tí ngonda | -I55 'As for me, I am remaining in the bush.'
8. mbi dutí | tí mbi | ndo só | tí lángó ndo só | jusqu'à, | na lá tí kɔ́á tí mbi | -I55 'As for me, I'm staying here, to live here for a long time, until the day of my death.'
9. ála só ahínga | tí ála | tí díkɔ mbɛ́tí | pɛpɛ -R10 'As for them, they didn't know how to read.'
10. mbi ɛkɛ | tí mbi | zo tí péché, zo tí mawa | -R10 'As for me, I am a man of sin, a man of suffering.'
11. mbi hɔ̧́ | tí mbi | hɔ̧́ngó | -N80 'As for me, I passed on.'
12. mbi yí | tí mbi | gíngó tɛ́nɛ́ | pɛpɛ -C30 'As for me, I don't like picking a quarrel.'

13. fadɛ́ mbi wara | tí mbi | pendere bɔngɔ́ | na ndo wá o | -C31 — 'Where will I find beautiful clothes?'

14. í ɛkɛ wara | tí í | nginza míngi míngi | tongana ázo tí Bangui | apɛ -I55 — 'We aren't getting a whole lot of money like the people of Bangui.'

15. lo goe | lo ɔ́kɔ | na li tí hɔ́tɔ́ | -R10 — 'He went by himself to the top of a hill.'

11.16. The verb intensifier is nothing more than the nominalized form of a verb used in a verb phrase to reinforce the verb (q.v. chp. 9). It implies either a simple intensification of the action, or an exclusion of any other possible action, as if to say 'he did this, and not something else.' Finally, it is possible in some cases to discern an idea of process or duration in the action. Several examples are given below.

1. mbi vɔ | vɔ́ngó | pɛpɛ -A40 — 'I didn't buy it.'

2. tɛ́rɛ́ tí mɔ azá | zángó | -R7e — 'Your body is really shining (i.e. in good health).'

3. ámɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí kɔ́li así | singó | na ndo só | -R6 — 'The boys have arrived here.'

4. mbi yɔ́rɔ | yɔ́rɔ́ngó | na oignon na tomate | kóɛ́ | -C31 — 'I fried (it) with onions and tomatoes also.'

5. lo báa | bángó | li tí ní? | -L175 — 'Did he see its head?'

11.20. Functions

As regards their functions, verb phrases are of two basic types. When they are not introduced by a connective, they serve as the predicate of a clause. In this use, there is almost always an expressed subject, if only a-, but in certain "imperative" occurrences there is no expressed subject. This use is illustrated in a number of examples (ex. 1-4).

When they are introduced by a connective (almost invariably tí, but ngbangatí occurs twice in the corpus and tenɛtí once), they serve as complements in either a verb phrase (ex. 5-9) or in a noun phrase (ex. 10-11). In some instances (ex. 11-12), the relationship is ambiguous: tí-verb might be construed as a complement of either the immediately preceding noun, or of the verb of which the noun is a complement.

In a verb phrase, a tí-verb phrase or a verb phrase introduced by another connective (ex. 5-8) may serve as a modifying complement, expressing purpose, reason, etc., or as a copulative complement (ex. 13). In a substantive phrase (q.v. 10.13), a tí-verb phrase serves as a qualifying or specifying complement. There is further discussion under tí (q.v. 5.64.10).

1. í goe í lángó ká -N80 'We went and slept there.'
2. mbi de mbi sára pepɛ -I39 'I still haven't done it.'
3. ámbéní avɔ, ámbéní akɛ gá -N78 'As some bought, others were coming.'
4. gá í goe -N80 'Come, let's go.'
5. mbi língbi tí sára tongasó ɔ́kɔ na mérɛngɛ́ tí mbi pepɛ -A49 'I couldn't do this at all to my child.'
6. fadesó, í ngbá tí débrouillé tí fáa gí ndembu, tí gí gí áwɔ́toro ní, tí wara na nginza -I55 'Now we're still managing to cut rubber, to look for bees, in order to obtain money.'
7. í gá na ndo só gí ngbangatí báa -R6 'We came here just to see.'
8. í vɔ na nginza, tɛnɛtí payé l'impôt -A50 'We sell it for money, in order to pay taxes.'
9. mbi mú lége tí goe na galá -A15 'I took the path to go to market.'
10. zo tí píka mbi ɔ́kɔ aɛkɛ pepɛ -R6 'There's not a man to hit me.'
11. í wara place tí lángó -I55 'We found a place to sleep.'
12. ála goe lɛkɛ kɔ́tá kéké tí sambéla -A15 'They went and prepared a great prayer stick' or 'They went and prepared a great stick in order to pray.'
13. kɔa tí lo aɛkɛ tí lɛkɛ ngbanga tí ázo tí kusára na ámbunzú -R1 'His job is to fix up the troubles of workingmen with White Men.'

11.30. Tables of frequency

The following tables show the frequency of different kinds of verb phrases.

Table 1. Length of verb phrases.

Length	Number	Per cent of total
unmodified verbs including compounds	825	13.1
verb + 1 complement	3202	51.5
verb + 2 complements	1285	20.5
verb + 3 or more complements	428	6.8
first element of compound verbs	504	8.1
	6244	100.0

Table 2. Frequency of various first complements. The first figure includes the first element of compound verbs.

no complement	1329	21.2 per cent
object	2302	36.9
copulative complement	465	7.4
modifier complement:		
substantive phrase	66	1.1
adjunctive	399	6.4
na phrase	1213	19.5
tí-verb phrase	305	4.9
subject intensifier	46	0.7
verb intensifier	14	0.2
títɛnɛ clause	105	1.7
	6244	100.0

Table 3. Frequency of second complements, according to the first complement they follow. To find the frequency of each second complement, according to the first complement it follows, read vertically under the desired first complement. The percentages (lower figure) are computed on the basis of the total given at the bottom of each column.

first compl. second complement	O	CC	A Av	MC SP	naP	tíV	SI	VI	Totals
none	1408 61.2	357 23.2	227 56.8	47 71.2	722 59.5	304 99.9	17 37.0	8 57.0	3090
object	4 0.2	0	51 12.8	5 7.7	175 14.4	0	10 21.7	1 7.1	246
copulative complement	0	0	9 2.3	1 1.6	0	0	3 6.5	0	13
adjunctive	414 18.0	65 14.0	42 10.5	7 10.2	142 11.7	0	6 13.0	0	676
modifier compl. subst. phrase	57 2.4	13 2.8	11 2.8	1 1.6	19 1.6	1 0.1	0	0	102
na phrase	349 15.2	19 4.1	51 12.8	4 6.1	104 8.6	0	8 17.4	5 35.9	540
tí-verb	70 3.0	11 2.3	8 2.0	1 1.6	50 4.1	0	1 2.2	0	141
subject intensifier	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
verb intensifier	0	0	0	0	1 0.1	0	1 2.2	0	2
Totals	2302 100.0	465 100.0	399 100.0	66 100.0	1213 100.0	305 100.0	46 100.0	14 100.0	4810

11.40. Tables of possibility of occurrence

The following charts represent possibility of occurrence, with no indication of relative frequency, beyond the second complement. Each successive column represents a further possible slot, with the possible fillers indicated.

1.	V + O + Av +	Av	
		naP	naP
			MC
			Av
		tíV	
		MC	
		O	Av
2.	V + O + naP +	Av	Av
			naP
			tíV - títɛnɛ Cɛ
			MC
		naP	Av
			MC
			tíV
		tíV	
		MC	
3.	V + O + tíV +	MC (only 1 occurrence)	
4.	V + O + MC +	Av	
		tíV	
		MC	
		naP	
5.	V + CC + MC		
	+ naP +	Av	
		naP	
	+ Av +	MC	
		na	
	+ tíV		
6.	ɛkɛ + CC (nzoní) + CC (clause)		
7.	V + VI + O +	Av	Av
			MCc
		naP	
	+ naP	Av	
8.	V + SI + Av +	tíV	
	+ naP +	tíV	
		títɛnɛ	Cl
	+ tíV		
	+ CC +	Av	
	+ VI		

9.	V + Av + Av +	Av		
		naP		
		tíV		
		O		
10.	V + Av + naP +	Av	naP	
		tíV		
		naP	Av	
		MC		
		O		
11.	V + Av + tíV			
12.	V + Av + CC +	Av		
13.	V + Av + O +	Av	naP	
		VI		
		naP	Av	
			tíV	
14.	V + naP + Av +	na	O	
		tí (to 4 times)		
		títene Cl		
		MC		
		O		
15.	V + naP + naP + Av		Av	
			naP	Av
			Voc	MC
		naP	Av	
			tíN	
			tíV	tíV
		MC		
		O		
16.	V + naP + tíV			
17.	V + naP + MC + Av		Av	
18.	V + naP + O +	Av	tíV	
		naP	Av	
			naP	
		tíV	naP	
19.	V + naP + VI			
20.	V + tíV + MC (only 1 example)			
21.	V + MC + Av			
	MC			
	CC			
	naP			
	tíV			

Chapter 12

PRE-CLAUSAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Preceding the nuclear part of a clause (i.e. its subject and predicate) quite commonly occurs a construction (and uncommonly more than one such construction) which has one of several relationships to the clause. Those constructions which are most easily identified topically fall under the headings subject, object, and "circumstantial" complements (e.g. time, place, consequence, manner, and reason). The remaining ones are best identified lexically. The word "construction" applies to all the pre-clausal elements as a class, but they can consist of single words or phrases or more than one construction in a paratactic sequence. Functioning as pre-clausal constructions are substantive phrases, connective phrases, and certain adjunctives.

12.10. Relationship

The relationship borne to the clause is sometimes appositional (as with subjectival elements), sometimes anticipatory (as with objectival elements which are in one fashion or other repeated in the verb phrase), or simply introductory. Syntactically, the pre-clausal element is related to the clause conjunctively, usually with laá (q.v. 8.13) or sí (q.v. 5.50), or disjunctively. Phonologically, it is related to what follows by the occurrence of a pause which separates the two constituents, i.e. the pre-clause element and the clause nucleus. This pause is marked by a comma in the examples. No other mark is therefore needed to identify them in the following paragraphs. Since many examples of the conjunctive occurrences of pre-clausal constructions have already been given above, this section is devoted exclusively to the disjunctive occurrences. (For a construction resembling these pre-clausal ones, one should again consult 4.23.10 where noun phrases made with só and a clause are discussed.) Not considered as pre-clausal, but rather as non-verbal minor-clause types are interjections and constructions used in direct address.

12.20. Function

The function of these pre-clausal constructions is not easily summarized. For those constructions that this initial position is obligatory, there is no problem. One has only to say that such and such a construction must, in a given kind of sentence, occur preceding the nucleus of the clause. There may very well be such constructions, but we have not yet identified them. Since this grammar was arrived at almost exclusively inductively--and not experimentally (i.e. by testing various alternatives with an informant)--we can not say much either about limitations of distribution or about differences in meaning which are correlated with differences in position. It would be methodologically quite simple to get such information, and in a more complete grammar--or language lessons--this information would be important.

Where occurrence preceding the clause or within the clause is optional, one suspects stylistic differences. Perhaps the word "emphasis" best characterizes many of the pre-clausal occurrences, especially when these are joined to the clause by laá and sí, but precisely what this "emphasis" amounts to and when in fact it is operative are questions oftentimes difficult to answer. As far as I can tell the following two sentences are identical in meaning. If there is a difference in stylistic meaning, I do not know what it is.

lá kóé | mbi báa lo na galá. } 'I always see him at the market.'
mbi báa lo na galá | lá kóé.

Undoubtedly some pre-clausal constructions which can also occur in the verb phrase can be explained by saying that a long, clumsy, or ambiguous verb phrase is broken up by pre-posing one of its constituents to the whole clause. The following sentences may illustrate such a splitting-up:

1. na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí í, í ɛkɛ goe na gbánda (not: í ɛkɛ goe na gbánda na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí í) -A50 'Where I come from (lit. in my village), we go hunting with nets (not: we go hunting with nets in our village).'
2. na Bangui, mbéní wále sí a-civilisé awe -A8 (not: mbéní wále sí a-civilisé na Bangui awe) 'In Bangui, some women have become civilized (i.e. one will find cultured women in Bangui [not: some women have become civilized while living in Bangui]).'

12.30. Types

12.31. Subject elements are either simple personal pronouns, personal pronoun phrases (consisting of either a pronoun and an adjunctive or pronouns in a coordinate construction), nouns, or noun phrases. In every case the pre-clausal element is followed by the true subject of the clause nucleus which is always a personal pronoun. The identification of the element as pre-clausal is, in fact, made on the observation that the subject marker a- (q.v. 7.20) does not occur. Nouns and noun phrases (ex. 7-10) are followed by the singular or plural third person pronouns (i.e. lo or ála). Noun and pronoun coordinate phrases (ex. 6-7) are also followed by the recapitulating use of the plural pronouns (q.v. 7.13). Where a pronoun is repeated in the subject of the nucleus and where a personal pronoun is used instead of a- as the subject, one suspects that the function of the pre-clausal construction is emphasis.

1.	mbi, mbi ɛkɛ tí mbi na kɔ́li apɛ. -L171	'Me, I don't have a husband.'
2.	mbi ngá, mbi kɛ̨ apɛ. -C30	'Me too, I don't refuse.'
3.	mbi vɛní, mbi éré mɔ kózo ní da. -C29	'It was I who called you there first.'
4.	gí mɔ ɔ́kɔ, mɔ yɔ̨́? -I9	'Are you drinking it alone?'
5.	mbi só mbi sára tɛ́nɛ́ só, mbi hínga lége tí sára ta pɛpɛ. -A15	'I who am saying this, I don't know how to make pots.'
6.	í na lo, í gá na Bambari na ndo só. -I39	'He and I, we came to Bambari here.'
7.	ámamá tí mbi, na ábabá tí mbi, ála tɛnɛ, mɛ́rɛngɛ́ wále asára l'école pɛpɛ. -A49	'My aunts and my uncles, they said that girls don't go to school.'
8.	mbénί mɛ́rɛngɛ́ wále, lo gá na pɛkɔ́ ní. -F7	'A certain girl, she came later.'
9.	tɛrɛ ngá, lo fáa yáká awe. -F4	'The spider also, he had made a garden.'
10.	ámɛ́rɛngɛ́ ní ká, ála kɛ na yoró, alíngbi apɛ. -N81	'They young people over there, they have an awful lot of charms.'

11. mɔ vɛní, mɔ nzí. -C29 'You're the one who stole it.'
12. lo kóé, lo ɛkɛ goe na gɔzɔ. -A49 'She also, she took manioc.'

12.32. Object elements are no different in constituency from those which occur in the verb phrase, where they would be either the direct object of the verb (q.v. 11.11) or the object of the connective na (q.v. 5.32.20). It should be remembered that a phrase with na marks manner, instrument, material, etc. Worthy of note is the fact that a constituent of a tí phrase (q.v. 5.61) never occurs as a pre-clausal element.

A pre-clausal object construction can either be the only marked object in a sentence (ex. 1-3) or be paired in some way with an explicitly marked object in the verb phrase itself (ex. 4-7, with relevant elements underlined).

1. nginza tí vɔ na yíngɔ́, mbi wara apɛ ngá. -A44 'Neither do I have the money with which to buy salt.'
2. quand même ngú, amú na lo gí na cuillère. -A9 'And when it comes to water, they give it to him in a spoon.'
3. yí kóé só mamá tí mɔ atɛnɛ na mɔ tí goe tí sára, akɛ nzoní, mɔ goe mɔ sára. -A42 'Everything which your mother tells you to go to do, you should go and do it.'
4. histoire tí giriri, mbi de mbi hínga só kóé sí mbi sára tɛ́nɛ́ tí vɛnɛ pepɛ. -I39 'As for stories of long ago, I don't yet know all these to keep from lying.'
5. mbéní aú tí mbi ní, ála affecté lo na Mbaiki. -N81 'One of my uncles, they assigned him to Mbaiki.'
6. tɛ́nɛ́ só lo goe tí sí ká na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí lo tí tɛnɛ, mɔ hínga tɛ́nɛ́ ní? -A49 'Do you know what he is going home to talk about?'
7. zángó yángá tí mɔ só, fadé í báa ndá ní ánde. 'Your sharp tongue, we'll see about it later.'

12.33. Locative elements in our corpus consist entirely of phrases with the connective na. Included under this heading are extensions of the locative category (ex. 4), but instrumentality and its related categories are never found in this position.

1.	na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi, mbéní dɔ́dɔ́ aɛkɛ, éré ní lengé. -A9	'In my part of the country, there's a certain dance whose name is lengé.'
2.	na pópó tí í, áwále tí Manza asára ta encore pɛpɛ. -A13	'Among us, Manza women no longer make pots.'
3.	na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi, ámbéní míngi ahínga tí tɔ́ ngunzá pɛpɛ. -A8	'In my part of the country, many don't know how to prepare manioc greens.'
4.	na yángá tí Kąrę, aɛkɛ goigida. -A44	'In the Kąrę language, it's (called) goigida.'

12.34. Temporal elements consist of numerous words and expressions having to do with time or sequence (but not speed of the action indicated in the clause). The lexically-identified ones which occurred in our corpus are the following:

fadesó	'now'
giriri	'long ago, formerly'
kózo ní	'first'
lá kóé	'always'
lá kúí	'evening'
lá ɔ́kɔ	'one day'
lá só	'today'
mbéní lá	'some day, once'
l'heure	'time'
na ndá ní	'later'
na pɛkɔ́ ní	'later'
na ndápéré	'in the morning'
na bí	'at night'

In many sentences the first one, fadesó, has very little specific temporal meaning. Rather, like tongasó (q.v. 12.36), it functions as a kind of ubiquitous connective or relator, relating the sentence in which it occurs with what precedes.

Nominalized verb phrases can also function as temporal pre-clause constructions (ex. 14-15). This is accomplished by adding the suffix -ngó to a verb. The meaning of such a construction is something like 'when' or 'upon' plus a participle. Only two examples occurred in the corpus, but it is my impression that it is by no means a rare one.

1.	fadesó mbi ɛkɛ sára kɔa tí yáká tí café tí mbi. -N35	'Now I'm working in my coffee plantation.'
2.	fadesó, lo mú mbi lo zía mbi na magasin tí lo. -R1	'So he took me and put me in his warehouse.'
3.	giriri só, mbi sára kɔa na mbunzú travaux. -N35	'Long ago, I worked for a White Man representing Public Works.'
4.	kózo ní, mbi sára kusára tí gérant. -I39	'First of all, I worked as a store-keeper.'
5.	lá kóé, mbi tɛ gí ngunzá. -A44	'I always eat only manioc greens.'
6.	na lá kúí, lá tongasó, í na ámbunzú, í goe. -I55	'At evening, when the sun was like this, the White Men and I, we went.'
7.	lá ɔ́kɔ, mbi tɔ́ ngunzá lége otá. -A44	'On one day, I prepare manioc greens three times.'
8.	lá só, mbi báa kɔ́li tí mɔ agoe na galá avɔ yąma, mbi báa apɛ? -A44	'Today, didn't I see your husband go to the market and buy meat?'
9.	mbéní lá, fadé ála sára tɛ́nɛ́ na mɔ ngangó míngi. -A49	'One day they will speak very harshly to you.'
10.	na l'heure tí deux heures, í sára kɔa na ámamá tí í ngbii. -A9	'At two o'clock, we work for our mothers a long time.'
11.	na ndá ní, mérɛngɛ́ wále só agá. -F7	'Later, this girl came.'
12.	na pɛkɔ́ ní, mbi gá ge. -I9	'Later, I came here.'
13.	na ndápéréré, mbi mú lége tí goe na galá. -A15	'In the mornings, I take to the road to go to market.'
14.	gángó só mɔ gá ndo só só, mbi sára mbéní sioní yí na mɔ sí mɔ goe mɔ kɛ̨ tí to na mbi mbɛ́tí só?	'When you came here, did I do something wrong to you which made you refuse to send me letters?'

15. síngó tí mɔ na Dakar, fadé mɔ gí lége tí sí na camp tí á-militaire, si mɔ húnda tenɛtí lo. -L3 'When you arrive in Dakar, try to get to the military camp, and ask about him.'

12.35. Topical elements simply introduce the general topic or concern of the sentence. They consist either of noun phrases, which seem to have only a casual syntactic relationship to the clause nucleus (ex. 1-4), or of a phrase with the connective tí (ex. 5-7). This latter construction can consistently be translated 'as for.....' Almost any verb of the clause nucleus can be nominalized and used pre-clausally (ex. 8). Its function is no different from other topically-used noun phrases.

1. nginza tí Bangui, par jour tí ála akɛ ndé, tí í akɛ ndo só ndé. -I55 'Bangui wages, their daily salary is different, ours here is different.'
2. ngú tí mbi, tongana yá tí carte d'ídentité, ka mɔ hínga. -N35 'My age, if (you could see) the inside of an identity card, then you'd know.'
3. lá kóé, yáká tí kɔ́li só, ábákoyá míngi aɛkɛ fúti kóbe ní. -F4 'Always, this man's garden, the baboons are ruining the food (in this garden).'
4. fadesó, mɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí wále só, bɛ́ tí lo asɔ. -N79 'Now, this girl, she was angry.'
5. na tí dɔ́dɔ́ só, tongana ála sára dɔ́dɔ́, í sára na yángá tí ngaragé. -A37 'And as for this dance, when they dance, we do it in the ngaragé language.'
6. tí í, ála kɛ goe tí éré kongo. -I39 'As for us, they (i.e. the women) go to drain a stream.'
7. tí fadesó, wále a-commencé tí fáa yáká lége ɔ́kɔ tongana kɔ́li. -A42 'Nowadays, women are beginning to prepare gardens along with men.'
8. tóngó ní, fadé mbi to séngé. 'As for sending it, I'll send it without any trouble.'

12.36. Adjunctival elements are just what they are called: adjunctives used in pre-clause position. Not all of them are so used, of course; only bíakú and bíaní 'truly,' ngá 'also,' mbéní 'in addition, moreover,' and tongasó 'thus' (q.v. 4.30, 4.10, 4.20 respectively). The last one does not appear to have the same meaning in this position that it has in the verb phrase. Much more frequent than the meaning 'in this manner, as a result of this action' is its function as an inter-sentence correlative. As such its meaning is similar to a weak 'so.' (Whereas fadé occurs preposed to the clause nucleus, it is not considered a pre-clause element because as a marker of future time it is never separated from its clause by a pause. See 9.10.)

1. bíaní, mbi hínga só. -A15 'Indeed, I know this.'
2. na ngá, mbi tɛnɛ merci míngi na Monsieur. -A15 'And also, I say many thanks to Monsieur.'
3. mbéní, tongana mɔ yí tí goe na yáká, mɔ goe tí fáa yáká, lo kɛ merdé mɔ na lége tí fángó yáká. -A49 'Also, when you want to go to the garden, you go to prepare the garden, and he bothers you during the preparation of the garden.'
4. tongasó, mbi kɛ̨ lo pɛpɛ. -N80 'So I don't reject him.'
5. tongasó, fadé í dɛ́ bá da. -C30 'All right, we'll take an oath on it.'

12.37. Here follow a few examples of sentences which contain more than one pre-clause construction.

1. na ndo só, tí Bata só, lá kóé, mbi tɔ́ gí ngunzá. -A44 'Here, as for this (village of) Bata, I always prepare just manioc greens.'
2. wále só aɛkɛ lɛkɛ ta, fadesó, ála zía lége tí lɛkɛ ta awe. -A13 'The women who used to make pots, now, they've given up making pots.'
3. tongasó, na ámbéní zo, ála tɛnɛ, mbéní yí aɛkɛ na tɛ́rɛ́ tí nganga ngá. -A48 'So some people, they said that there was something beside the nganga (fetish).'
4. giriri só, babá tí í, ála sára ngaragé. -A37 'A long time ago, our forefathers, they took to ngaragé.'

Chapter 13

SUBJECTIVAL CONSTRUCTIONS

The subject is a slot or position in the clause whose grammatical meaning is roughly 'doer of the action.' Thus the subject is not a kind of entity, but merely a position in which various entities may appear, and which adds its grammatical meaning to their lexical meaning.

In the clause, the subject slot occupies the position immediately preceding the predicate. The constructions which may occur in the subject slot are pronoun phrases, noun phrases, connective phrases with tí, and adjunctive phrases. These have been subsumed under substantive phrases (q.v. chp. 10). Clauses may also serve as subjects. The pronoun phrases and noun phrases may be quite complex, including not only adjunctives but whole modifying clauses, one or more connective phrases with tí, and so on. When the subject is unusually long, there is frequently a pause between subject and predicate. With all subjects except simple pronouns, the subject marker a- is obligatory (q.v. 7.20). The subject marker also occurs in a few examples with mbi, lo, and ála, but these must be considered anomalous, as they are so few and occur only in the speech of a few individuals whose usage is non-standard in other respects also. In the examples which will follow the descriptive paragraphs, the subjects will be enclosed in braces { }.

13.10. Pronoun subjects

Pronoun subjects only may be preceded by pre-clausal anticipations (q.v. 12.31). The subject may also be semantically reinforced by a phrase yí tí + pronoun or tí + pronoun, which usually occurs in the verb phrase (q.v. 11.15), but in a few cases occurs in the pre-clausal slot. Pronoun subjects are almost always simple pronouns (ex. 1-11). A few instances occur of pronoun + adjunctive forms (ex. 12-15) and pronoun + só forms (ex. 16), of pronoun joined to pronoun or noun by na (ex. 17-18), and of a noun in apposition to a pronoun subject (ex. 19). These occur almost entirely in radio texts, and involve primarily the pronoun ála.

1. tongana {mbi} kɔnɔ awe, {mbi} báa yí só aɛkɛ kɔ́tá yí -A49 'When I had grown up, I saw that this was a big thing.'

2.	fadé {ála} tenɛ {mbi} ɛkɛ zo tí búbá -R3	'They will say that I am a foolish man.'
3.	fadesó, {mɔ} gá babá na mamá tí mbi awe -R1	'Now, you have become my father and my mother.'
4.	fadesó ngá, {mɔ} mú nginza na lo, na ndó tí bulletin de paye -R1	'Now, you give him money, beyond the pay bulletin.' (with imperative verb)
5.	tongasó, tɛrɛ atenɛ lo, {lo} mú na ní gí mbo tí ní -F4	'And so, spider said to him (that) he should give him just his dog.'
6.	mɛ́rɛngɛ́ só {lo} sára tɛ́nɛ́ ní aɛkɛ kpu -R9b	'The "child" about which he was speaking was a mortar.'
7.	fadesó, {áni} mú kpɔ́ka tí goe na yáká, tí sára yáká -A15	'Then, we take hoes to go to the garden, to make the garden.'
8.	jusqu'à {í} goe {í} wara place tí lángó, {í} lángó da -I55	'Until we go, we find a place to sleep, and we sleep there.'
9.	tongana {ála} yǫ́ kóé awe, {ála} lóndó agoe -N78	'When they had finished drinking, they arose and went.'
10.	na ngú só, {mbi} yí, ála kóé, agoe tí voté, tongana só, {ála} voté kózo ní -R3	'This year, I want all of you to go to vote just as you voted formerly.' (2nd person plural)
11.	aa, Mamadu, {ála} éré í na mɔ kóé pɛpɛ? -R1	'Ah, Mamadu, didn't they call you and me (lit. us and you) both?' (3rd person plural)
12.	{ála kóé} ayí tí má lo -R10	'They all wanted to hear him.'
13.	mbi pensé, tongana á-docteur wala ázo tí súrúngó li tí mabɔ́kɔ só agoe na yá tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́, nzoní, {ála kóé} abóngbi tɛ́rɛ́ tí ála -R4b	'I think, when the doctors or the people who prick the tips of fingers go into a village, (it is) good that you all assemble yourselves.'
14.	allé, {ála só kóé} alóndó na vundú -F7	'Then all of them rose in resentment.'
15.	mais tongana {ála óse} agá sioní awe, yí kóé agá sioní awe -A15	'But when those two had become bad, everything had become bad.'

16.	ní laá, mbi tenɛ na ála kóé, fadesó, {ála só} akɛ ge -R2	'Because of this, I told them all, now, here are these.'
17.	lo béni áfiní zo só, lo mú ála tongana áíta tí lo, só fadé, {lo na ála,} aɛkɛ sára kusára -R10	'He blessed those new people, he took them as his brothers, who soon, he and they would work.'
18.	{ála na ázo tí diplomate tí á-français } aɛkɛ bɔ́ngbi li tí ála, tí goe tí mú yángá tí í français, na tɛ́nɛ́ tí République Centrafricaine, tí goe tí tenɛ na ázo tí mbéní kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ -R3	'They and people of the French diplomats have combined their heads to go represent us French, and the affair of the Central African Republic, to go tell it to people of other villages.'
19.	ála tenɛ {ála á-diacre ti Bangayanga} ahínga pɛpɛ -L27	'They said they, the deacons of Bangayanga, didn't know.'

13.20. Noun phrase subjects

Noun phrase subjects may consist of simple nouns, either singular (ex. 1-3) or plural (ex. 4-5), or of a noun-noun construction (ex. 6), or of a noun and a tí phrase (ex. 7-20). In this latter case, there may be up to two successive tí phrases (ex. 17-20), in which case the object of the second tí is usually a pronoun. Some are pronouns and tí-verb phrases (ex. 21). The phrase may consist of a noun and só (ex. 22-23), or of a noun and a relative construction (q.v. 4.23.10), as shown below (ex. 24-26). There may even be combinations of these, in which case the phrase may be very long (ex. 27). Nouns formed of verb and nominalizing suffix -ngó can serve as subjects, in which case they may still be followed by the kind of complements (e.g. objects) which are appropriate to verbs (ex. 28-29). One instance (ex. 30) occurs in which a verb without -ngó serves as a subject.

1.	{mamá} agá amú mbi akírí na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí aú tí lo -N81	'Mother came and took me and went back to her uncle's village.'
2.	mais tongana {zo} ayí mɔ apɛ alíngbi tí húnda kɔ́be tí mɔ tí vɔ? -C30	'But if a person doesn't like you, could he ask food from you to buy?'

3.	bon, {tɛ́nɛ́} aɛkɛ apɛ, mais mbi língbi tí kɛ̨ á-famille kóé ngbangatí só pɛpɛ -N35	'Good, (there) is no problem, but I can't reject the whole family because of this.'
4.	{á-apôtre} aɛkɛ zo wa? -R10	'The apostles were what men?'
5.	na {ákɔ́li} aɛkɛ na mbáge aussi tí tɛ tí ála ngá -A8	'And the men were also on the sides to eat also.'
6.	{radio Bangui } aɛkɛ tɛnɛ na í tɛ́nɛ́ tí Nzapá na lá tí dimanche -R10	'Radio Bangui is telling you the affair of God on Sunday.'
7.	ní laá {bɛ́ tí mbi} asɔ, mbi gá mbi mú mbɛ́tí tí kɔa só kóé mbi zía na da -N35	'It's because of this that my liver hurt, I came and took all those labor papers, I put them in the house.'
8.	tɛnɛtí {nzala tí mɔ} aɛkɛ fáa mbi -L3	'Because hunger for you is killing me.'
9.	{kɔ́li tí mɔ só} ayí mɔ míngi ma -C31	'Your husband must love you a great deal then.'
10.	mais peut-être sí tongana lo báa {íta tí lo wále} aɛkɛ na ní míngi, í tɛnɛ lá kóé que kobéla ti bilharzie só aɛkɛ wara ní gí na lége tí ngú -R4a	'But perhaps it's because she saw her sister women had it a great deal, we always say that the disease schistozomiasis catches us only through water.'
11.	ka mɔ hínga {manière tí wále} aɛkɛ ndé ndé apɛ? -C31	'Didn't you know that the wiles of women are varied?'
12.	mɔ hínga kóé {wángó tí ndápéréré} aɛkɛ wara ká l'heure míngi míngi sí fadé í língbi títɛnɛ í píka na mɔ disque pɛpɛ -R4a	'You know well that "Counsels in the Morning" doesn't get a great deal of time to be able to play a record for you.'
13.	na {íta tí lo ní} akírí agá kɔtɔ lo -N79	'And her sister came back and began to scratch her.'
14.	{ngangó tí yoró ní} agoe ahɔ̨́ ngangó tí tɛ́rɛ́ tí mɔ, alíngbi títɛnɛ, afáa mɔ -R4c	'The strength of the medicine goes and overcomes the strength of your body, and can even kill you.'

15.	yí só kóé, {la loi ti kusára vení} afa ní -R1	'All these things, the labor law itself shows them.'
16.	nzoní títenɛ, í ngá, í gí lége, í lɛkɛ kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí í, nginza tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí í agá míngi -R2	'It is good that we also, we look for a way, that we fix up our country, that the money of our country should become abundant.'
17.	mbi tenɛ mamá, mbi tenɛ, {wále tí aú tí mbi ní } ayí mbi pepɛ -N81	'I said to mother, I said, this wife of my uncle doesn't like me.'
18.	tongana {l'heure tí kíríngó tí í} alíngbi awe, í gá í lángó -N80	'When the time for our return was fully come, we came and slept.'
19.	tongana {mará tí tɛ́nɛ́ tongasó tí sioní} aɛkɛ na bɛ́ tí ála, ála tenɛ tɛ́nɛ́ ní mbéní pepɛ -R2	'If this kind of evil affair is in their liver, let them no longer say this thing.'
20.	fadesó, {babá tí mbi tí kété} atenɛ na mbi, wále tí mbi só agoe na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́, awara mɛ́rɛngɛ́ awe -R1	'Now, my little father has told me that my wife, who went to the village, has had a child.'
21.	{zo tí hínga mbétí míngi} aɛkɛ da pepɛ -R10	'People of much book learning (lit. people to know books) were not there.'
22.	lá ní, {wále só} atenɛ, ní ɛkɛ na mbéní mɛ́rɛngɛ́ ɔ́kɔ na yá tí da tí ní -R9b	'That day, that woman said she had a certain child inside her house.'
23.	parce que tongana {kobéla só} aɛkɛ tí sioní míngi, aɛkɛ sára mawa míngi et puis, aɛkɛ nínga tí fáa zo pepɛ -R4b	'Because when this disease is of the very bad (kind), it causes much suffering, and also, it doesn't delay in killing people.'
24.	{gbánda só, ála bi, sí agbó susu,} ahɔ̨ ndó ní, aɛkɛ kótá kusára só église aɛkɛ sára ánde -R10	'The net which they cast, so that it caught a huge number of fish, is the great work which the church is doing right now.'

25.	{pɛ́mbɛ́ tí mbi só í báa a-manqué só,} aɛkɛ séngé pepɛ -A9	'My teeth which you see are missing are not (that way) for nothing.'
26.	{yáká só í sára só,} aɛkɛ yáká tí búbá apɛ -R6	'The garden which we are making, is not a foolish garden.'
27.	ngbangatí, {ámbéní mbunzú ní, tí vurú póró tí tɛ́rɛ́ aɛkɛ da só} agí gí lége títenɛ, asára sioní yí ɔ́kɔ -R2	'Because, some of the White Men, (men) of white skin are there also, (they) seek only for a way to do an evil thing.'
28.	{vɔ́ngó yí na mbi} agá fángó tɛ́rɛ́? -C30	'Has buying things from me become (an occasion for) showing off?'
29.	mais {gángó tí mbi na Bangui} aɛkɛ tí gí place tí lángó -L7	'But my coming to Bangui was to find a place to sleep.'
30.	{tiri na yá tí galá} aɛkɛ tiri tí zo tí goigói -C30	'Fighting inside the market is the fighting of a lazy person.'

13.30. Remainder

The remaining kinds of subjectival constructions include connective phrases with tí (q.v. 5.61.30) which also function as substantive phrases (q.v. 10.12), and so can be the subject of a verb (ex. 1-4). Also included are adjunctives (ex. 5-14), especially só (ex. 12-14). Finally, in a few instances (ex. 15-16) a sentence serves as the subject of ɛkɛ.

1.	et puis nginza tí Bangui ní, par jour tí ála aɛkɛ ndé, {tí í} aɛkɛ ndo só ndé -I55	'And then the money of Bangui, their daily wages, are different, (and) ours are different.'
2.	mais {gí tí wále só amá na bɛ́ pepɛ vení} asɔ mbi -L16	'But it's only that of those women who have not believed that hurts me.'
3.	{tí báa kótá yí na ndó sése só} ahɔ̨́ kóbe tí yɛ̨ lá kóé mbi ɛkɛ tɛ -C31	'To see great things all over the earth surpasses any food which I ever ate.'
4.	{tí sára kɔa na mbunzú} asɔ zo míngi -R6	'To work for White Men hurts people a lot.'

5.	{míngi} aɛkɛ goe, wala tí bángó yí tongana ngú tí Gbutu só aɛkɛ tí na ngangó só -R2	'Many are going, perhaps to see something like the water of Gbutu which falls with great force.'
6.	{kóé} aɛkɛ -R9b	'All are there.'
7.	{ámbéní} aɛkɛ tɛnɛ na mbi, atɛnɛ aɛkɛ ta -R9b	'Some are saying to me, they say it is a pot.'
8.	{mbéní} alú gí ɔ́kɔ -R6	'Some planted only one.'
9.	ámɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí í só, {ámbéní} alóndó lá só tí goe na Paris -R7d	'The young people of our country, some have taken off today to go to Paris.'
10.	mais ámbéní míngi, na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi {ámbéní míngí} ahínga tí tɔ́ ngunzá pepɛ -A8	'But many, in my village, many don't know how to boil manioc greens.'
11.	wále só adú na kɔ́li só ámɛ́rɛngɛ́ otá, mais {ɔ́kɔ} akírí na ti tí Eternel Nzapá -L15	'This woman bore to this man three children, but one returned to the arms of the Eternal God.'
12.	{só} aɛkɛ kusára tí áwále laá -A15	'That is the work of women right there.'
13.	ou bien aɛkɛ fonctionnaire, ou bien aɛkɛ commis de bureau, tí gá tí hánda mbi, atɛnɛ fadé í fáa mɔ, {só kóé} aɛkɛ séngé -R3	'It's either civil servants, or else it's office boys, to come and test me, they say, "We will kill you"; all that is nothing.'
14.	{só vɛní} aɛkɛ fa na mbi lége tí fángó ngbanga tí ála só -R1	'This very thing is showing me how to decide your case.'
15.	{lo hínga atɛnɛ ní ɛkɛ wále, só aɛkɛ sára kɔa tí da tí kɔ́li tí lo nzoní,} aɛkɛ -A8	'She knew and she said she was a woman who was doing the work of her husband's house well, (this) is so.'
16.	kóbe só aɛkɛ lɔ́ndó na yáká, agá, mɛ́rɛngɛ́ só, {mbéní só lo wara lo tíngbi atɛnɛ, aɛkɛ ngangó} aɛkɛ pepɛ -R9b	'(Of) food which comes from a garden, this child, some which he finds and appropriates, and then says, "It's hard": it isn't so.'

Chapter 14

NON-VERBAL SENTENCES

Non-verbal sentences,[1] as their name indicates, contain no verb. Instead, they are made up of any of the constituents of clauses except final particles; among these only pɛpɛ is used occasionally as a predication.

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[1] The corpus on which the analysis of sentence structure is based consists of approximately 1641 sentences (Anecdotes 542, Conversations 250, Fables 135, Interviews 243, Letters 45, Narratives 280, Radio (148) from 36 different texts (in which there are approximately 17,844 words). The choice of these texts was determined in part by a desire to have a fairly representative sample of spoken Sango and in part by what was available in the files at the time when the analysis was made.

The number of sentences analysed is approximate in more than one sense. The real problem here is the determination of what a "sentence" is. In a written language (i.e. in a written sample of a language with a tradition of writing) the identity of a sentence is easier than it is in spoken, especially extemporaneous, language. In the latter informal speech one tends to find clauses strung along, fused, and intercallated in ways which are very different from those which characterize the written texts, even informal, of the same language. English, much to the dismay of school teachers, is no exception.

These observations are made to indicate that it is very unlikely that the syntax of Sango is "worse" than that of a similar text from a person with an equivalent education. Moreover, since Sango is a lingua-franca, it undoubtedly has no stylistic traditions, no standards of eloquence. In a certain sense it is true that the people "just talk." But all "talk" has some kind of structure or else it would not be a realization of language. It is the purpose of chapters 14 and 15 to describe the syntactic aspects of this talk.

This is not to say that all samples of Sango are equally good. Even though I am no native speaker of the language, I think that I am, as a result of extensive exposure to the language and intensive study of its structure, somewhat qualified to judge certain texts in some way better than others. The better ones I should say are more amenable to description. An example of bad syntax is sentence 35 in text R4a (q.v. chp. 18). The only feature which seems to require that these strings of clauses be united as a single "sentence" is the fact that they are preceded and followed by terminal pause. The internal structure is almost beyond description. Much of the radio texts are of this type. On the other hand, I judge that C31 and N81 are fairly good examples of conversational and narrative texts.

In the identification of sentences, therefore, we have used as criteria both intonation, structural cues, and sense. Intonation is not always helpful, of course, for a person can use a terminal pause and then decide to

By definition any normally produced utterance (i.e. anything except fragments produced by hesitation phenomena such as stammering and groping for words) can function as a sentence. A single interjection, a name or title used in direct address, a fraction of a sentence--any of these can constitute non-verbal sentences. Of more interest, however, are those non-verbal sentences which are true constructions because they consist of two elements having a specific relationship to each other. These are discussed more fully below.

14.10. Sentence fractions

Sentence-fractions occur most frequently in our corpus following a question; they are identified in the examples by an asterisk. When they occur in connected discourse, it is sometimes difficult to tell whether they are in fact sentences or simply appendages of a preceding sentence. In extemporaneous speech one naturally expects to find examples of false starts and afterthoughts. Occurring as non-verbal sentences are the following kinds of sentence fractions: noun phrases, adjunctives, and connective phrases (especially na and tí, but in questions with tongana, tɛnɛtí, and ngbangatí). Some of the noun phrase sentence-fractions function identificationally: i.e. the meaning is 'there is' or something like it.

*1. kusára tí gérant? -I39	'The work of a shopkeeper?'
*2. mbi ɔ́kɔ. -I9	'Just me.' (Q: Isn't anyone else going to drink?')

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add something to the preceding construction. Then again he may use a non-terminal pause and then decide to end it there instead of continuing. Structural cues are such things as the placement of sentence particles (q.v. chp. 8), the occurrence of pre-clausal elements and connectives, etc. For example, the use of fadesó 'now' and tongasó 'thus' is quite similar to 'well' in English at the beginning of a sentence: they serve to introduce a whole new construction.

All that has been said concerned the identification of sentences in connected discourse. It should be remembered, however, that the problems are far less grave for isolated utterances. In any case, the implication of this study is that the patterns of sentence construction here described will be characteristic of most utterances. Said in isolation after sufficient consideration they deserve the name of "sentence."

*3. ngú ɔ́kɔ, na mbéní babá tí mbi. -A21	'One year, with one of my uncles.'
4. mbéní vieille wále. tɛ́rɛ́ tí lo kóé akɛ gí sioní míngi. -F7	'There was an old woman. Her body was all in a very bad condition.'
5. yí ɔ́kɔ. tongana zo agá na mɔ, alíngbi mɔ hínga lé tí lo sí. -F4	'There's just one thing. When someone comes to you, you must recognize him.'
6. taá tɛ́nɛ́ tí mɔ? -C8	'Are you telling the truth? (lit. 'your truth')'
*7. gí na ndo só. -A21	'Right here.'
8. gí na lége tí kóbe só mɔ lɛkɛ nzoní apɛ. -A8	'Just from the poor way you prepared food.'
*9. ka tí mbi ní? -I9	'What about mine!'
10. mɔ yí tí mɔ bière? tí glacé? -I9	'As for you, do you want beer? A cold one?'
*11. tí fáa na yáká. -A13	'To make a garden with it.'
12. tɛnɛtí yę. -A15	'Why?'
13. tongana yę só. -I9	'What's the trouble here?'
14. gí tongasó. -A44	'That's just how it is.'

14.20. Constructions

The non-verbal sentences which consist of two elements in construction are all either identificational or equational. They exist in three types. In the first type the two elements are substantive phrases, i.e. syntactic elements which could function as the subject of a verbal sentence. In the second type a syntactic element is followed by pɛpɛ with either a statement or question intonation (q.v. 3.11), the whole meaning of which is 'is...not' or 'isn't it so that...?' In the final type a sentence fraction is followed by laá, the meaning of which is 'that's the....' A complete discussion of laá occurs in 8.13. Finally, it should be noted that two identificational constructions may follow in a series (ex. 17).

In the following examples a comma or a vertical bar separates the constituents, depending on whether there is, or there is not, a pause.

1. kɔa tí mbi | lo só. -I41 'That's my work.'
2. ndá tí mariage ní | lo só. -C31 'That's the point of marriage.'
3. kóbe kóɛ́ akɛ na galá ndo só | gí tí mɔ? -C30 'All the food which is here in the market, is it just yours?'
4. tɛ́nɛ́ tí mɔ | tí má yángá tí mamá tí mɔ, na tí má yángá tí babá tí mɔ. -A42 'It's your responsibility to obey your mother and your father.'
5. tí mɔ | yę. -I9 'What's yours?'
6. mariage ní | gí ɔ́kɔ awe. -C31 'There's just one marriage.'
7. ngéré ní | ɔ́kɛ ɔ́kɛ. -C30 'What's the price?'
8. vɛnɛ ní | gí tí mbi? -C29 'The lie is mine?'
9. só | séngé. -C31 'That's all right.'
10. só | yę só? -C31 'What's this?'
11. vɛnɛ | pɛpɛ. -C29 'It's not a lie.'
12. kɔ́li tí mɔ | apɛ? -C31 'Isn't he your husband?'
13. kɔa ní | apɛ? -C31 'Isn't it because of work?'
14. éré tí dɔ́dɔ́ ní | laá. -A21 'That's the name of the dance.'
15. yí ɔ́kɔ, gí Nzapá. -N35 'There's just one thing, just God.'
16. gí só mbi má, tɛ́nɛ́ tí Nzapá. -A15 'There's just one thing I hear, it's the word of God.'
17. ála kóɛ́, gí na kobéla tí bilharzie. -R4a 'All of them have liver-fluke disease.'

Chapter 15

VERBAL SENTENCES

15.10. Simple sentences

Simple verbal sentences consist of a clause nucleus (i.e. a subject and a predicate) and may also include pre-clausal constructions (q.v. chp. 12) and sentence particles (q.v. chp. 8). Pre-clausal constructions seem to occur only when there is a marked grammatical subject. Even though the subject is listed as one of the constituents of a simple sentence, there are occasions when a substantive phrase subject can be missing (q.v. 7.20).

Some simple sentences are also introduced by one of the connectives, but another division of the sequences of clauses might have made these included rather than independent ones. Here again is raised the question as to what exactly constitutes a sentence.

As one might expect, some sentences are long and others short. The difference between sentences of various sizes is a function of the size of the constituents and of the relation that the sentences bear to those around them. Little more can be said about this relationship at present. But if less equivocal conclusions could be achieved for the determination of sentences, it would indeed be interesting to describe the inter-sentence relationships in this language. Some of these, one suspects, would be grammatically determined and others would be stylistic.

15.20. Complex sentences

Complex sentences consist of verbal and non-verbal clauses in various combinations: i.e. a verbal clause can be preceded or followed by another verbal or non-verbal clause. Any of these verbal clauses can be either simple or complex, and in the following discussion no distinction is made. In fact, no complete inventory of all the possible combinations has been attempted. The brief investigation of the possibilities reveals that a complete description would be only an elaboration in detail of the analysis presented in this chapter. Some of the results of this investigation, however, are included in the analysis of a sample text (q.v. chp. 17). The following description therefore treats only of (1) verbal clause + verbal clause, (2) non-verbal + verbal clause, and (3) verbal clause + non-verbal clause.

15.21. Two verbal clauses are joined either disjunctively or conjunctively.

15.21.10. The disjunctive clauses are again sub-divided according to whether or not the clauses are in coordinate or subordinate relationship to each other. This relationship is determined less by linguistic criteria than semantic ones. Although coordinate clauses are very often joined with no significant junctural features whereas subordinate ones are joined by non-terminal pause (q.v. 3.12), I must admit that my decisions were sometimes quite subjective. Nevertheless, once the coordinate clauses are discussed, it will be seen that the other group, if not truly subordinate, in fact constitutes a separate class.

15.21.11. Coordinate clauses are either sequential or additive.

15.21.11a. The term "sequential" is meant to cover not only those cases where clauses are truly sequential in time but also those cases where simultaneous action is implied. A few examples of opposition are included here (ex. 38-40) because they are doubtful: i.e. one can supply either 'and' or 'but' in the translation. Most of the examples of sequential coordinate clauses involve a limited number of verbs, mostly verbs of motion, all of the subjects of which are the same. These verbs are gá 'to come,' goe 'to go,' kírí 'to return,' and lóndó 'to arise' (q.v. 9.22). Also occurring sequentially are the verbs de 'to remain,' mú 'to take,' and tɛnɛ 'to say.' The first three verbs of motion (i.e. gá, goe, kírí) do not necessarily indicate real motion. The verbs gá and goe might perhaps be described as functioning as "auxiliary" verbs, for they seem to prevent one's taking the following verb aoristically. For example, in the analysed text (q.v. chp. 17) sentence 53 has the following complex clause: yá tí mbi ní agá a-diminué awe 'My abdomen came and receded.' That is, as a result of taking a treatment the abdomen, which had become inflated because of liver fluke disease, had been restored to normal size. The verb diminué (<French) by itself would imply some other thought. While these observations obviously lack precision, I nevertheless feel that the data warrant a tentative

exploration albeit at this date a subjective one. The verb kírí 'to return,' on the other hand, requires some translation such as 'again' or 'as for....'

Certain verbs of cognition (e.g. hínga 'to know,' pensé 'to think'), perception (báa 'to see,' má 'to hear'), and vocalization (e.g. érɛ́ 'to name,' húnda 'to ask') are also quite frequently followed by the verb tenɛ 'to say' which is used to introduce the object of those verbs (q.v. 11.11 and 15.21.12a). For example: mbi hínga atenɛ, lo kɛ gá. 'I know that he is coming.'

1.	likongó só agá akpa dole -A51	'this spear comes and spears the elephant!'
2.	í gá í sí na marché. -N81	'We came and arrived at the market.'
3.	ní laá í gá í lángó na ní na Bangui ngbii. -N81	'That's why we came and stayed in Bangui a long time.'
4.	ámɛ́rɛngɛ́ agá míngi ahé bíá. -A21	'Children came in large numbers and sang.'
5.	lo gá na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́. lo gá atenɛ, ní yí mbéní zo tí gá na lo. -I9	'He came to the village. He came and said, "I want someone to go with him."'
6.	gángó só mɔ gá na ndo só só, mbi sára mbéní sioní yí na mɔ sí mɔ goe mɔ kɛ tí to na mbi mbɛ́tí.	'When you came here, did I do something bad to you that you went and refused to send me letters?'
7.	goe mɔ vɔ mafuta tí báláwá. -A11	'Go and buy shea butter.'
8.	mɔ goe zía na ndó tí table. -A11	'Go and put it on the table.'
9.	mbi goe mbi dutí ká. -I55	'I went and stayed there.'
10.	í na lo í goe. í goe í lángó ká. -N80	'He and I went. We went and stayed there.'
11.	tongana lo vení lo goe lo mú mbo só -F4	'when he himself, he goes and gets this dog'
12.	í kírí í tenɛ mɔ kóé -R4a	'we come back and tell you again'
13.	mɔ kírí mɔ fa papa na lé tí mbunzú só. -C31	'for your part, you reveal trouble to the White Man'
14.	kɔ́li tí mɔ alóndó ká na kɔa, agá -A11	'Your husband leaves work over there and comes.'

15. mbéní finí fille ní alóndó agá na école ménagère -N79 'A certain new girl came to Home Making School.'

16. amú mbi apíka mbi alíngbi apɛ. -N81 'She took me and beat me terribly.'

17. amú kpí tí sindi só, atúku na ndó ní. -A8 'She takes this sesame paste and dumps it on top of it.'

18. ála mú tɛ́mɛ́, ála bi na mbi. -N80 'They took stones and threw them at me.'

19. mbi mú caisse ní, mbi goe na pɛkɔ́ tí ámbunzú. -I55 'I took,the box and followed the White Men.'

20. kétɛ́ íta tí lo só amú lége akírí. -N79 'Her younger sister took to the road and returned.'

21. íta, mú na mbi tanga ní, mbi yɔ̨́. -I9 'Friend, give me the rest to drink.'

22. mɔ mú na lo ngú lo sukúla lɛ́ tí lo. -C31 'Give him water so that he can wash his face.'

23. mbi de mbi mú kɔ́li apɛ. -C8 'I haven't yet taken a husband.'

24. ngangó tí lo ade ahúnzi pɛpɛ. -L186 'His strength is not yet gone.'

25. tongasó, tɛrɛ atambéla ngbii, así na yáká tí kɔ́li só, atɛnɛ, mon vieux, só kóbe tí yáká sí aɛkɛ na aú só? -F4 'So spider traveled a long time and arrived at this man's garden and said, "Wow, is this a food-garden which Uncle has?"'

26. mbunzú akpé agoe doucement, apíka lo -I55 'The White Man ran and went quietly and shot him.'

27. í goe í wara place tí lángó, í lángó da. -I55 'We went and found a place to sleep and we slept there.'

28. mɔ goe mɔ mú lo na sése ní mɔ kírí na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ ní. -A29 'You go and pick it off the ground and return with it to the village.'

29. lo hínga atɛnɛ mbi fáa yąma míngi. 'He knows that I have killed many animals.'

30. mbéní camarade tí mbi ní atoka kétɛ́ íta tí lo atɛnɛ, agoe adɔ́ gɛ́rɛ́ tí lo. -N79 'A friend of mine sent her younger sister saying, "Go and step on her foot."'

31. mbi pensé, mbi tenɛ, hínga pɛpɛ, á-postier asúru na lége. -L3 'I thought that perhaps the postmen tore it up on its way.'

32. ála yí tí gonda tɛ́rɛ́ tí ála, ála tenɛ, taá mamá tí mbi aɛkɛ zo tí sauvage pɛpɛ. -A49 'They like to brag saying, "My own mother is not a savage."'

33. lá só mbi báa kɔ́li tí mɔ agoe na galá avɔ yąma, mbi báa apɛ? -A44 'Today didn't I see your husband go to the market and buy meat?'

34. ndá adé yá tí mbi asɔ. -A8 'Morning comes and my stomach hurts.'

35. tɛ́rɛ́ tí mbéní zo tí mɔ asɔ lo ngbii, lo kúí awe. -A21 'One of your relatives is sick a long time and he dies.'

36. par jour tí ála akɛ ndé, tí í akɛ ndo só ndé. -I55 'Their daily wages are different, and ours here are different.'

37. mɔ sukúla tɛ́rɛ́ ní pɛpɛ, angbá saleté séngé séngé. -A8 'You don't wash it, and it remains dirty.'

38. giriri mbi dutí na mawa, ála báa mbi tongana zo tí búbá. -N35 'Long ago I was in great trouble, but they considered me a fool.'

39. mbi sára yáká tí mbi, ade mbi tɛ mbéní yí ní apɛ. -N35 'I made my garden, but I haven't yet eaten anything from it.'

40. í tomba pɛkɔ́ tí ála ngbii, ála kpé awe. -I55 'We chased them a long time, but they had already fled.'

15.21.11b. Additive clauses are those which, immediately following another clause, do not indicate a separate action which is simultaneous or subsequent to the one just mentioned, but rather complement that action, supplying more information about it. For the sake of convenience they might even be called "adverbial clauses." The clearest examples of additive clauses involve the verbs hɔ̨́ 'to surpass,' língbi 'to be able,' and we 'to be finished,' which are more fully taken up below. Other coordinate clauses (ex. 12-13) are perhaps not additive but simply sequential. For an anomolous use of akɛ pɛpɛ see 8.12.40, ex. 7.

The verb hɔ̨́ 'to surpass' is used to indicate intensity, superlative degree, etc. (ex. 1-4). If it is followed by no specific object, it often takes ndó ní (i.e. 'surpasses the top of it').

The verb língbi 'to be able, to be equal' is used in the affirmative to indicate adequacy, equality, or similarity (ex. 5-7). It can occur without a complement or with a na phrase which indicates the object with which the comparison is made. The "adequacy" use of língbi can be either in the affirmative or the negative. The simple negative clause alíngbi pɛpɛ 'there is no equal' is, on the other hand, used as a superlative, very much like ahɔ́ ndó ní (ex. 8-11).

The verb we 'to be finished' indicates both perfective action and sufficiency. No examples are provided here because it was carefully treated in 9.30.

1. bilharzie ní tí áwále akɛ sɔ ála ahɔ́ ndó ní. -R4a 'The liver fluke disease of women hurts them terribly.'
2. só séngé yí ahɔ́ yí kóé. -C31 'That's a most worthless thing.'
3. fadé mbi kɛ wara bɔngɔ́ ká na yáyú ahɔ́ mɔ apɛ? -C31 'Won't I be getting more clothes than you there in heaven?'
4. mɔ sára kɔa ahɔ́ ámbéní wále na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ só kóé -C31 'You do more work than all the women in this village.'
5. tongana mɔ tourné kété alíngbi na ní awe -A8 'After you've stirred it enough....'
6. mbi yí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí í na ála agá taá kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́, agá ngangó alíngbi na ámbéní kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí sése -R2 'I want our country to become a real country, to become strong like the other countries of the earth.'
7. mérɛngé só, lo língbi tí tɛ alíngbi na lo apɛ -A44 'This child can't eat enough to satisfy himself.'
8. ála píka lo, alíngbi apɛ. -N79 'They beat her up terribly.'
9. da ní agbí ká alíngbi apɛ. -N79 'Many houses burned up over there.'
10. taá térɛ́ tí mbi avɔkɔ́ alíngbi apɛ. -N81 'My body was terribly dirty.'
11. ámérɛngé ní ká, ála kɛ na yoró, alíngbi apɛ. -N81 'The kids over there have an awful lot of charms.'
12. mɔ zía ngú na wá, a-chauffé. -A8 'You put the water on the fire to heat.'
13. fadé mbi sára agá ká. -F7 'I'll make a sore out of it.'

15.21.12. Subordinate clauses are marked intonationally or lexically, or both. They shall be distinguished by the terms "lexically marked" and "non-lexically marked." In either case, the subordinate clauses precede the major clause. Another class of sentences where the second clause rather than the first may be considered as being in a subordinate position is discussed below. The intonational features which mark the relationship between the clauses is, as has been pointed out in 3.12, sometimes a rising tonal glide, sometimes a level of pitch which never occurs at the end of a sentence (like what is called in English a "sustained pitch"), and almost always a slight pause. All of these features are subsumed under and indicated by the comma.

15.21.12a. Non-lexically marked subordinate clauses can generally be identified by their lexical content. They end with awe, or laá (q.v. 8.13), or contain hínga pɛpɛ 'don't know,' yí tí 'want to,' adu 'is,' or aɛkɛ nzoní 'it is good.' The remaining ones can not be so identified, but it is precisely these which have the same meaning they would have if marked by tongana (q.v. 5.81 and below). Each of these different kinds of subordinate clauses is now taken up in turn.

Some non-lexically marked clauses (included within braces) seem to have the same function they would have if marked by tongana, i.e. they can be translated by using words such as 'when, if, after' and the like. They can contain the perfective marker awe or not (ex. 1-5 and 6-14 respectively).

1.	{así na tɛ́rɛ́ tí dɔ́dɔ́ ní awe}, amú ngɔ. -A21	'When they've come to the dance site, they take the drums.'
2.	{í fáa yąma awe}, í mú mbéní, í mú na makunzi -A50	'When we have killed some animals, we take some meat and give it to the chief.'
3.	{í gá í sára lángó míngi apɛ}, mbéní aú tí mbi ní, ála affecté lo na Mbaiki. -N81	'We came and hadn't spent many days when one of my uncles, they assigned him to Mbaiki.'
4.	{mɔ goe mɔ vɔ makongó awe}, mɔ gá mɔ túku na yá tí sɛmbɛ́ -A8	'After you've gone and bought some caterpillars, you come and put them in a dish.'

5. {lo tɛ ngunzá ní kóé awe}, mɔ goe mɔ mú na lo ngú, lo sukûla mabɔ́kɔ tí lo kóé, lo yɔ̨́ ngú na pɛkɔ́ ní. -A11 'After he's eaten all the manioc greens, you go and give him water, and after he's washed his hands, he then drinks water.'

6. {mɔ fa na ála lége tí nzoní}, ála báa tongana nzoní yí. -A49 'If you teach them the right way to do things, they will consider it good.'

7. {mɔ tɛ}, fadé mɔ língbi tí wara malade tí yá pɛpɛ. -A8 'If you eat it, you won't be able to get a stomach disease.'

8. {lo ɛkɛ mɛ́rɛngɛ́ wále, wala mɛ́rɛngɛ́ kɔ́li}, fadé babá ní afa na lo kɔa tí da. -A49 'If it's a daughter or a son, the father will teach it the work of the house.'

9. {mɔ yí}, mbi kɛ gá, íta. -C30 'If you want, I'm coming, Sister.'

10. {mɔ mú lo}, lo língbi tí kírí na babá tí lo apɛ. -I9 'When you take her (in marriage), she can't return to her father.'

11. {mbi wara yąma}, mbi tɛ. -A44 'When I get meat, I eat it.'

12. {atɛnɛ tí tó ngú}, akɛ nzoní mɔ goe mɔ tó ngú. -A42 'If she tells you to draw water, you should go and draw water.'

13. {adu ní ála}, ka ála língbi títɛnɛ ála sára nzoní yí pɛpɛ -R2 'If it were them, they wouldn't be able to do good things.'

14. {adu títɛnɛ wále tí mbi akɛ na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́}, ka mbi na wále tí mbi í causé títɛnɛ í kɛ sára mɔ tɛ́nɛ́ só mbírímbírí -N35 'If my wife were in the village, my wife and I would be able to chat to tell you about these things thoroughly.'

The remaining clauses are best taken up separately, for each one, because of its semantic content, has a special use.

The abbreviated clause hínga pɛpɛ (abbreviated, because it can, although rarely does, have a subject) introduces doubt in a sentence (ex. 15-16). The word pɛpɛ or apɛ is always said with a raised (not high) and sustained pitch with the last vowel being slightly lengthened.

15. {hínga apɛ}, mɔ sára kɔa ní juste apɛ. -C31 'Perhaps you don't do the work right.'

16. {hínga pepɛ}, á-postier asúru na lége -L3 'Perhaps the postmen tore it up on its way.'

A clause ending with laá (q.v. 8.13) gives the reason for the following clause.

17. {mbi ngbá mɛ́rɛngɛ́, mbi goe na l'école laá}, mbi má Sango bien -A21 'The reason that I understand Sango well is that when I was a child I went to school.'

18. {bɛ́ tí lo ayí mɔ apɛ laá}, akɛ sára mɔ sáná só. -C31 'The reason that he's making you suffer like this is that he does not like you.'

19. {hínga apɛ, nginza akɛ na lo apɛ laá}, lo sára mɔ tongasó. -C31 'Perhaps the reason that he's treating you like this is that he has no money.'

The clause aɛkɛ nzoní 'it is good' suggests counsel or polite obligation (ex. 20-24). Explicit obligation is expressed by aɛkɛ ngbanga tí followed by a complete clause.

20. {aɛkɛ nzoní} mɔ zía ála kózo ní na l'école -A49 'You should put them first in school.'

21. {ní laá akɛ nzoní}, ála má wángó só -R4c 'That's why you should listen to this advice.'

22. yí kóé só mamá tí mɔ atɛnɛ na mɔ tí goe tí sára, {akɛ nzoní}, mɔ goe mɔ sára. -A42 'Everything your mother tells you to go to do, you should go and do it.'

23. {akɛ nzoní} mɔ gá mɔ píka lé tí mbi sí mbi hínga mbi tene mɔ kɛ mɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí wále. -C30 'You should come and slap my face so that I can know that you are a girl.'

24. {aɛkɛ nzoní} mɔ tene na lo apɛ. 'You shouldn't tell him.'

A certain number of verbs are followed by clauses which can be considered to have a status subordinate to the main clause. It is possible, however, to look upon these clauses as being objectival in the verb phrase, and this is how they were described in 11.11. The difference in analysis results in having, on the one hand, a simple sentence in which there is a whole clause as object, and, on the other hand, a complex sentence which consists of a major and a subordinate clause. The analysis which results in a simple sentence seems to be required at least for some sentences where the verb tenɛ 'to say' is involved. In a sentence such as lo tenɛ na ála, ní ɛkɛ na nzala. 'He told them that he was hungry.' or 'He told them, "I'm hungry."' one can find at the point marked by comma those features which accompany an incompleted sentence. Moreover, the second clause 'I'm hungry' occurs in the spot where one expects an object in a sentence where there is also a beneficiary na phrase (q.v. 11.13).

The verb tenɛ 'to say' is not the only verb which acts in this way. There are also the following:

báa	'to see'	pensé	'to think'
hínga	'to know'	yí	'to want'
húnda	'to ask'	zía	'to place, let'
má	'to hear, understand'		

25.	mɔ báa lo dutí na li tí kéké -A29	'Look at him sitting at the top of the tree.'
26.	ála báa, mɔ kɛ na nginza míngi apɛ -I9	'They see that you don't have much money.'
27.	í hínga akɛ yí tí mbito míngi -A13	'We know that it is a terrible thing.'
28.	lo húnda lo, tará, yę asɔ mɔ sí mɔ ɛkɛ toto tongasó. -L186	'He asked her, "Grandmother, what is hurting you that you cry in this manner?"'
29.	mbi má tongana mɔ mú kɔ́li apɛ? -C8	'Haven't I heard that you took a husband?'
30.	mɔ pensé kóbe kóé akɛ na galá ndo só gí tí mɔ? -C30	'Do you think that all the food which is here in the market is yours?'
31.	kɔ́li só atenɛ wále tí lo, lo lɛkɛ kóngbá tí ní fadesó. -F4	'This man told his wife to prepare his baggage.'
32.	atenɛ aú, mú na mbi mbo tí mbi. -F4	'He said, "Uncle, give me my dog."'
33.	mbi yí ála ngbá na ndo so pepɛ.	'I don't want them to remain here.'

34. zía bɛ́ tí mɔ anzɛ́ na kusára ní pepɛ. 'Don't let your heart get weary in the work.'

35. í tɛnɛ lá kóé que kobéla tí bilharzie só akɛ wara ní gí na lége tí ngú. -R4a 'We always say that liver fluke disease afflicts her through water.'

Occasionally these clauses are introduced by some connecting word, a practice which, in the case of que, is obviously due to the influence of French (ex. 35). In the case of tongana (ex. 29) the evidence is not quite so clear, because a native word is used in what appears to be an unusual manner. Because it was used by a bilingual in French, I should say that this is evidence for loan translation. Other than these few instances of que and tongana, there are, of course, no conjunctive means of joining the clauses under discussion. But there is what one might call a functional equivalent. All the verbs except zía 'to let' and yí 'to want' can be followed by atɛnɛ which introduces the following clause. The similarities between ex. 36 and ex. 29 above should be noted. Both are the utterances of a single speaker in the same text.

36. mbi má, {atɛnɛ} mɔ mú kɔ́li ká, mɔ goe na da tí kɔ́li awe apɛ? -C8 'Haven't I heard that you took a husband and have gone to the man's house?'

37. mbi tɛnɛ na ála, {mbi tɛnɛ}, mbi yí tí mbi apɛ. 'I told them, "I don't want to."'

38. fadé ála gá tí húnda mbi {atɛnɛ}, yí laá awara mbi só. -N35 'They will come to ask me what happened to me.'

15.21.12b. Lexically marked subordinate clauses occur before the main clause and are introduced by tongana, quand même (or simply même), and só. Since tongana and só were extensively treated in 5.81 and 4.23.40, no further discussion is required here. The meaning of quand même is 'even if' and differs from tongana in being more emphatic. There are, however, sentences to which quand même appears to add no meaning, but this is what one might expect from people who were learning a new word, especially one from a language they did not know.

1. tongana lo píka zuru kóɛ́ awe, lo mɛ́ kóbe, lo mú mbéní, agoe na pɛkɔ́ tí kɔ́li. -A42	'After she has pounded the mil, she prepares the meal and takes some and goes to her husband.'
2. même mɔ mú tɛ́rɛ́ tí í kóɛ́, í lángó na da tí lengé ní ɔ́kɔ. -A9	'Even if you should take all of us together (i.e. here in the room), we would sleep in the lengé house together.'
3. même mɔ gá na milieu tí dole tongasó, dole abáa lo pepɛ. -A51	'Even if you should come amongst the elephants in this way, the elephants don't see him (i.e. you).'
4. quand même mbi yú apɛ tɛ́nɛ́ akɛ apɛ. -C31	'Even if I don't wear (any clothes), that's all right.'
5. só lo gá bírí, mbi hínga apɛ.	'I didn't know anything of his arriving yesterday.'

15.21.20. Clauses are joined conjunctively by the use of the following connectives: na 'and,' ngbangatí 'because,' ka 'then,' sí 'then,' tɛnɛtí 'because,' títɛnɛ 'so that,' tongana 'as,' and wala 'or' in addition to the French loans mais 'and, but,' et puis 'and then,' and parce que 'because.' Since all of these were discussed and illustrated in chap. 5, the following examples are necessarily brief.

1. tongana mbi kûí na deux heures, et puis mbi sí da apɛ, fadɛ́ aɛkɛ sára tongana yę. -N35	'If I should die at two o'clock and not arrive there, then what's going to happen?'
2. mbi díkɔ mbɛ́tí na Sango, mais agbó yángá tí mbi mbírímbírí apɛ. -A21	'I read in Sango but I don't do it well.'
3. tongasó, kɔ́li só amû woga só awe, na lo fáa kámba na gɔ́ tí woga awe. -F4	'So this man took the antelope and cut the rope from off the antelope's neck.'
4. lo yí mbi ngbangatí mbi sára kɔa tí lo míngi apɛ? -C31	'He likesme because I do a lot of work for him, don't you know?'

5. mbito tí kɔ́á amú mbi ɔ́kɔ pɛpɛ, *parce que* mbi ɛkɛ zo tí kɔ́á. -R3	'I am not at all afraid of death, because I am a person of death (i.e. liable to death).'
6. tará, yɛ̨ asɔ mɔ *sí* mɔ ɛkɛ toto tongasó. -L186	'Grandmother, what is hurting you that you cry like this?'
7. mɔ éré ázo, *títɛnɛ* ála gá, atoto lo na mɔ. -A21	'You call people to lament him for you.'

15.22. The joining of non-verbal with verbal clauses is much less frequent than is the joining of two verbal clauses. Moreover, because of their infrequency and because of the difficulties met in determining exactly what constitutes a sentence (already discussed at the beginning of this chapter), there is little that one can say unequivocally about such sentences. If, for example, words and phrases used in direct address or interjectional material (ex. 1-2, 5 and 3-4) are considered as being in construction with a verbal clause, they constitute one of the frequent non-verbal elements, either pre-posed or post-posed (in both cases disjunctive). For at least some utterances, however, there seems good reason to describe them as separate sentences.

Two frequently-occurring types of non-verbal constructions are interrogative material which is pre-posed (disjunctively or conjunctively) or post-posed (only disjunctively, ex. 6-9) and the word laá (ex. 10). For a full description of this important word laá see 8.13. Other types of non-verbal material are illustrated by ex. 11-20.

1. áíta tí mbi, ála hé pɛ́mbɛ́ tí mbi apɛ o. -A9	'My friends, please don't make fun of my teeth!'
2. Fiowasa, mɔ mú kɔ́li awe? -C8	'Fiowasa, have you taken a husband?'
3. ʔḿʔm, mbi de mbi mú kɔ́li apɛ. -C8	'No, I haven't yet taken a husband.'
4. oui, mbi gá pendere kɔ́li na Rafai. -I39	'Yes, I became an adolescent boy at Rafai.'
5. mbi kɛ gá, íta. -C30	'I'm coming, friend.'
6. tɛnɛtí yɛ̨ mɔ gá tí vɔ́ngó kóbe na galá. -C30	'Why do you come to buy food in the market?'
7. tɛnɛtí yɛ̨ sí lo sára tɛ́nɛ́ na mɔ tongasó.	'Why did he talk to you like that?'

8.	mɔ tɛnɛ akɛ tí mɔ tongana yȩ. -C29	'How is it that you say that it is yours?'
9.	gí áwále sí azía ála na kobêla tí bilharzie ngbangatí yȩ. -R4a	'Why is it that they place only women (in the hospital) because of liver fluke disease?'
10.	só aɛkɛ kusára tí áwále laá. -A15	'That's the work of women.'
11.	só tongana yȩ sí tí ákɔ́li akɛ sɔ̂ ála míngi pepɛ. -R4a	'How is it that the men's (liver fluke disease) does not hurt them much?'
12.	só kóbe tí yáká sí aɛkɛ na aû só? -F4	'Is this garden food which Uncle has?'
13.	tongasó apɛ, mɔ língbi tí wara yąma na yá tí mɔ. -A8	'If not done in this way, you can get worms in your stomach.'
14.	mbunzû akpê agoe doucement, apíka lo. mauser óse, dole akɛ na sése. -I55	'The White Man ran and went quietly and shot him. Two shots with the big rifle and the elephant was on the ground.'
15.	mais yí ɔ́kɔ, mbi wara mbênî yąma tí tɛ na pɛkɔ́ ní apɛ. -A44	'But there's just one thing, and that's that I can't get any meat to eat with it.'
16.	kɔ́li ayí tí goe, payéngó ní tí li na yá ní, páta bale osió. -R7f	'If a man wants to go, the price for entering is 200 francs.'
17.	wále agoe tí payê tí li, páta bale óse. -R7f	'If a woman goes to pay, it's 100 francs.'
18.	na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi, mbênî dɔ́dɔ́ aɛkɛ, êrê ní lengê. -A9	'In my part of the country, there's a certain dance, the name of which is lengé.'
19.	merci míngi tɛnɛtí mbunzû así na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ awe. -A15	'Many thanks because the White Man has arrived in the country.'
20.	nzoní í wara kôtá yáká tí avion na ndo só. -R2	'It would be a good thing if we had a large airfield here.'

Chapter 16

QUESTIONS AND PROCESSES

16.10. Questions

Questions are distinguished from statements by the presence of an interrogative word or intonational contour or both. The interrogative words will presently be discussed, but the intonational contours were described phonologically in 3.11.

Any sentence, verbal or non-verbal, which occurs with the statement intonational contour can be changed into a question by replacing that contour with an interrogative one or by adding a lexically empty function word at the end of the sentence which carries the contour (i.e. usually ɛ̨). Precisely how many different kinds of interrogative contours it can take has not yet been determined.

In practice not every kind of sentence is found interrogatively marked by intonation. Questions are usually of the class described as simple sentences (q.v. 15.10), and if complex, then nevertheless with fewer constituents than is possible in statements (i.e. the sentences are shorter). No other restriction than this one applies to negative questions, but negative questions must be distinguished on the basis of at least three kinds of contours. Two of these have the meaning which for the sake of convenience is here glossed as 'is it true that....not' (i.e. asking for a confirmation of a negative statement). The contour which starts low and rises to very high seems to indicate incredulity. The one which starts high and falls with stress seems to indicate insistence. The third contour has a very different meaning: i.e. 'isn't it so that....?'

The following four sentences indicate the contrasts which can occur with different intonational contours.

mbéní zo ayɛ̨́ apɛ.	'No one is drinking.'
mbéní zo ayɛ̨́ apɛ.↗	'Isn't anyone going to drink?'
mbéní zo ayɛ̨́ apɛ.↘	'You mean to say no one is going to drink?'
mbéní zo ayɛ̨́ apɛ.→	'Isn't someone drinking?'

1. mɔ pensé kóbe kóé akɛ na galá ndo só gí tí mɔ? -C3o — 'Do you think that all the food here in the market is yours?'
2. mɔ má awe? -R4a — 'Did you hear?'
3. mɔ yí tí mɔ bière? -I9 — 'As for you, do you want beer?'
4. mbi sára téné tí pémbé tí mbi só kóé da? -A9 — 'Do you want me to tell all about my teeth in it (i.e. tape recorder)?'
5. mais ka tí mbi ní? -I9 — 'But what about mine?'
6. bɛ́ tí mbi ayí tí vɔ kóbe ní apɛ? -C3o — 'Don't I want to buy the food?'
7. awe apɛ? -C31 — 'Isn't it all (i.e. can't you see that it's all) finished?'
8. mbi má ála tenɛ ála kɛ mú kɔ́li gí na kété yoró tí bata tɛ́rɛ́ apɛ? -C31 — 'Haven't I heard say that they get husbands with little body charms?'
9. kɔ́li tí mbi apɛ? -C31 — 'Isn't that my husband?'
10. yí tí mɔ só mɔ sára kété amú kaméla na mbi míngi, ɛ̧? -C31 — 'The little thing you did gave me a great deal of shame, don't you know?'

Sentences which contain interrogative words are not generally accompanied by a question contour. More precisely, the presence of an interrogative word marks a question (as well as introducing a semantic factor), and a question contour, when it occurs, adds some overtones. The difference is somewhat like 'Why did he....?' and 'Would you say again why he....?' These words are yɛ̧ 'what?' (q.v. 4.25), wa 'what?' (q.v. 4.24), ɔ́kɛ 'how much?' (q.v. 4.26), and some French borrowings (e.g. est-ce que [ɛskí], pourquoi, quoi). The connective wala 'or' occurs in some sentences which are obviously (i.e. from the context) questions although no contour marks them as such. In these sentences it occurs between two alternative constructions or at the very end of a sentence where one would expect the second clause to occur. It should be remembered that yɛ̧ and wa occur in a few conventionalized interrogative locutions: ngbangatí yɛ̧ and tenɛtí yɛ̧ 'why?' tongana yɛ̧ 'how?' lá wa 'when?' zo wa 'who?' and na ndo wa 'where?'

11. só sárángó yí tí yɛ̧. -C31 — 'What kind of business is this?'

12.	yɛ asɔ mɔ sí mɔ ɛkɛ toto tongasó. -L186	'What hurts you that you cry like this?'
13.	tɛnɛtí yɛ mɔ gá tí vɔ́ngó kóbe na galá. -C30	'Why do you come to buy food in the market?'
14.	mɔ kɛ tambéla tongana yɛ sí bɔngɔ́ tí mɔ atoto. -N80	'How do you walk so that your clothes make noise?'
15.	ngéré ní ɔ́kɛ. -C30	'What's the price?'
16.	mɔ língbi tí kɛ lo ngbangatí bɔngɔ́ lá wa. -C31	'When can you reject him over clothes (i.e. Can you possibly reject him over clothes)?'
17.	zo wa sí amú na mbi wa. -L186	'Who gave it to me?'
18.	mɔ wara pendere bɔngɔ́ só na ndo wa. -C31	'Where did you get this nice dress?'
19.	gendarme a-commandé li tí sárángó samba wala a-commandé li ti kángó kɔkɔ. -C30	'Does a policeman supervise the making of beer or the selling of kɔkɔ?'
20.	tongana mɔ tɛ ngunzá, mɔ tɛ susu, mélangé na ni wala. -A44	'When you eat manioc greens, do you eat fish, mixing them with it, or what?'

16.20. Processes

The processes which characterize the construction of sentences are for the sake of convenience identified as addition, apposition, intercalation, repetition, and subordination. The last one is ignored here because it is amply illustrated in the discussion of complex clauses (q.v. 15.21.12).

Addition covers those constructions which are found at the ends of sentences where they seem to occur as afterthoughts or by way of explanation (ex. 5-7). Sentences with this kind of added elements are therefore not "typical" sentences.

Apposition covers those constructions which consist of functionally equal elements having an appositive relationship to each other (ex. 1-2). Very few occurred in the corpus, and it is my impression that this process is not frequently used in the language in general.

Intercalation--the insertion of a construction within a sentence (as is done parenthetically)--is likewise of infrequent occurrence (ex. 3-4). Perhaps intercalation differs from addition only by the position in the sentence, the one occurring within a sentence and the other at the end.

Repetition has a stylistic function which the others do not have. The process itself indicates intensity (e.g. vɔkɔ́ vɔkɔ́ 'very black'), continual action (agoe agoe 'he went on and on'), distribution (e.g. mú otá otá 'take them by threes'), and the like. It most frequently occurs with some of the adjunctives.

1.	mbi má na yá tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi, Mangkanzi. -A40	'I heard it in my village, Mangkanzi.'
2.	gí kótá gbíá, (fuwa tí í, só atenɛ, Bangasu), lo vení sí a-commencé berá tí sára na lá ní ká. -I39	'The principal chief, our fuwa, that is, Bangasu, he's the one who began wars at that time.'
3.	fadé na pɛkɔ́ ní, mbi ɛkɛ mú ámbéní fonctionnaire, li tí ála míngi, wala bale otá, wala bale osió, wala bale ukú kóé, mbi hínga pɛpɛ, tí to ála na mbéní kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́. -R3	'Later, I will take some civil servants (many of them--thirty or forty or even fifty, I don't know) to send them to other countries.'
4.	mbi má Sango, mbi má mbírímbírí apɛ, ngbangatí só mbi goe na l'école. -A21	'I know Sango (although I don't know it well) because I went to school.'
5.	mɔ vɔ kárákó, kpí tí kárákó. -A8	'You buy peanuts, rather, peanut paste.'
6.	ála mú mbéní sɛmbɛ́ tí í, indigène só. -I39	'They took one of our pots, a native one that is.'
7.	mbi sára kɔa tí passé bɔngɔ́, na l'hôpital. -I9	'I worked ironing clothes, in a hospital.'

PART FOUR: TEXTS

Chapter 17

ANALYSED TEXT

The distribution of various types of syntactic constructions in a continuous narrative is illustrated by text N81, "A Mistreated Child." The speaker is Martine Bafio, an adolescent girl, born of Gbɛya parents but a native speaker of Sango with practically no knowledge of her parents' language. Born and resident in Bangui, she has traveled extensively with her father who was in the national militia. Her religion is Protestant, but all of her education has been in the official schools in the French language. At the time of this recording she was in secondary school.

The location and frequencies of these constructions and sentences are indicated in the following tabulations. The symbols are to be interpreted in the following way:

NV = non-verbal clause
C = verbal clause
hyphen = conjunctive union
comma = disjunctive union
parenthesis = complex clause
c = subordinate clause

In the text, the vertical bar | is used to separate constructions to facilitate their identification. The comma is retained in the text to indicate non-terminal pause.

A. Sentences with pre-clausal constructions (13): 1, 2, 3, 6, 9, 10, 22, 23, 35, 37, 39, 43, 46.

B. Simple sentences (29):

Introduced with a connective (11): 4, 9, 10, 12, 13, 20, 31, 33, 35, 46, 54.

Introduced with no connective (18): 1, 2, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22, 24, 32, 36, 42, 48, 49, 51, 52, 59, 60.

C. Complex sentences (35):

Non-verbal + verbal (3):

NV, C	64
NV-C	58
NV,(C,C)	56

Verbal clause + verbal clause joined conjunctively (3):

C-C	41, 63
(C,C)-C	45

Verbal clause + verbal clause joined disjunctively (20):

C,C	6, 7, 17, 26, 28, 29, 39, 40, 43, 44, 47, 55, 57.
C,C,C	3, 19, 25, 38, 50.
C,(C,C,C)	30
C,(C,C)	34

Subordinate clause + main clause (9):

sC,C	11
s(C,C),C	8
sC,(C,C)	5, 23, 27, 37
s(NV,C),C	62
s(C,C),(C,C)	53
s(sC,sC),C	61

D. Compound verb phrases (4): 11, 27, 36, 63 (compare with some very similar sequential clauses in 8 and 57).

A few observations about some sentences which pose problems in analysis are appropriate. Sentences 8, 11, and 37 might be described as consisting of sequential clauses rather than of an initial subordinate clause followed by a main clause. In sentence 9 the construction nzoní laá, sí mbi ɛkɛ ndo só does not seem to be in construction with anything else. The construction nzoní laá 'it's good' can, of course, be followed by a clause (q.v. 15.21.12a), but hardly, I should imagine, by one which contains the verb yí 'to want.' The clause sí mbi ɛkɛ ndo só is perhaps intercalated, but if nzoní laá is edited out and if sí is taken to be só (q.v. 15.21.12b), then it could be in construction with the following clause: i.e. 'Since you are here, I want to....' In any case there is a problem with sí, for this is hardly the place for the connective sí. Perhaps it is the French conjunction si 'if.' Sentence

27 seems to be poorly constructed: the first clause does not seem to be in construction with any other one; the second and third clauses may be constituents of a single complex clause, but it is my opinion that the third one is a correction or amplification of the second one. Sentence 31 is classified as C,C but it is possible that the second clause is a type of correction of the first, i.e. changing a Sango idiom for a French one. Sentence 32 is classified as a simple sentence, but it could also be looked upon as a constituent of a complex sentence which includes the material in what is classified as sentence 31. In sentence 61 there is no justification for two occurrences of fadé which marks future time. Since fadé occurs before the subject of a verb, yí só was probably first intended to be the subject, but at this point the sentence was restructured, necessitating the reintroduction of fadé.

A Mistreated Child (N81)

[1]na l'heure só mbi de kété kété, | babá tí mbi agoe na Fort Archambault. [2]mamá tí mbi, na kété íta tí mbi, í na ála | í ngbá na Bangui. [3]na l'heure só babá tí mbi asára ká lángó míngi awe, | mamá tí mbi, amú mbi | akpé, | agoe na ní na Damara, na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí átará tí mbi. [4]na lo zía kété kété íta tí mbi ɔ́kɔ, na yá tí da ní. [5]na tongana babá tí mbi amá ténɛ́ só awe, | amú lége, | agá. [6]fadesó, | amú lége, | agoe na pɛkɔ́ tí mamá tí mbi ká. [7]agoe, | amú í, | agá na ní.

[1]When I was still very small, my father went to Fort Archambault. [2]My mother and my little sibling and I, we stayed in Bangui. [3]When my father had been there many days (i.e. a long time), my mother took me and ran away with me to Damara, to the village of my ancestors. [4]But she left one of my little siblings in the house. [5]Now when my father heard about it, he took to the road and came back. [6]Then he took to the road and followed my mother over there. [7]He went and took us and brought us back.

[8]í gá | í sára lángó míngi apɛ, | mbéní aú tí mbi ní, | ála affecté lo na Mbaiki. [9]na fadesó, | lo tɛnɛ na mamá, | nzoní laá, | sí mbi ɛkɛ ndo só, | ní yí tí mú mbi tí goe na ní. [10]na

[8]We came and had not spent many days when one of my uncles was appointed to Mbaiki. [9]Then he said to Mother, "It would be good if I (i.e. the child) were here, I want to take

fadesó, | lo mú mbi, | lo goe na ní na Mbaiki ká. [11]í goe sára ká lángó míngi apɛ, | wále tí lo así na pekɔ́ tí í. [12]na wále tí lo ní, aɛkɛ na mérengɛ́ ngá aussi tongana mbi. [13]mais wále tí lo ní, ayí mbi pepɛ. [14]mbi ɛkɛ taá saletɛ́. [15]ngusú ali tɛ́rɛ́ tí mbi kíríkiri. [16]tɛ́rɛ́ tí mbi avɔkɔ́. [17]mbi dutí ngbii, | nzala ahǫ́ ndó tí mbi. [18]mbi goe na pekɔ́ tí école ní. [19]mbi goe | mbi nzí bulée tí sentinelle, | mbi tɛ. [20]na sentinelle agbó mbi da lá kɔ́ɛ́. [21]mbi kɛ sára ndá tí tɛ́nɛ́ ní na sentinelle. [22]sentinelle laá | ɛkɛ sára tɛ́nɛ́ na mbi apɛ. [23]lá kɔ́ɛ́, | tongana nzala ahǫ́ ndó tí mbi, | mbi goe, | mbi éré na lo. [24]lo súru na mbi fɔndɔ ɔ́kɔ. [25]mbi gá | mbi zɔ́ | mbi tɛ. [26]taá tɛ́rɛ́ tí mbi avɔkɔ́ | alíngbi pepɛ.

[27]quand même mbi ngbá [tí] sárángó école, | na tongana l'heure só mbi commencé gá kótá kɛ́tɛ́ kɛ́tɛ́ awe, | lɛ́ tí mbi a-commencé kpíngba awe, | mbi sára mbɛ́tí, | mbi toka na mamá na Bangui ge. [28]mbi tenɛ mamá, | mbi tenɛ, | wále tí aú tí mbi ní, ayí mbi pepɛ. [29]mbi báa pási | alíngbi pepɛ. [30]il faut mamá agoe na pekɔ́ tí mbi, | agoe, | amú mbi | agá na ní. [31]na mamá asára pekɔ́ ní, | asára réponse tí mbɛ́tí ní. [32]ato kɔ́a.

her to go with her. [10]So then he took me, and he brought me to Mbaiki there. [11]We went and hadn't spent many days there, when his wife followed us. [12]Now his wife had children also, like me. [13]But his wife didn't like me. [14]I was really filthy. [15]Chiggers were all over my body. [16]My body was black. [17]After I stayed a long time, hunger overcame me. [18]I went in back of the school. [19]I went and stole the watchman's bananas, and I ate (them). [20]And the watchman caught me there all the time. [21]I explained the whole thing to the watchman. [22]So the watchman didn't say anything to me. [23]Every day, when hunger got the best of me, I went and begged from the watchman. [24]He divided one plantain with me. [25]I came and roasted and ate it. [26]My body was black beyond belief.

[27]Even so I still went to school, and when the time came when I began to grow big, and I began to understand (lit. my face hardened), I wrote a letter and sent it to Mother in Bangui here. [28]I said, "Mother," I said, "My uncle's wife doesn't like me. [29]I've seen more than enough suffering. [30]My mother must come after me and go and take me and return with me." [31]And my mother wrote back, she answered the letter. [32]She sent word.

[33]na wále tí aú tí mbi ní amá tɛ́nɛ́ ní só. [34]amú mbi, | apíka mbi, | alíngbi apɛ. [35]na fadesó | mbi kpɛ́. [36]mbi goe lángó na da tí mbɛ́ní zo ní na mbáge tí gbɛ́ ní ká. [37]na pekɔ́ ní, | ayí tí sára lángó míngi apɛ, | mamá tí mbi ní amú lɛ́ge, | agá na pekɔ́ tí mbi. [38]agá amú mbi, agá na ní. [39]na fadesó, | mbi, na mamá, na babá, na íta tí mbi ní kɔ́ɛ́, | í mú lɛ́ge, | í goe na Fort Archambault, na place só babá asára kɔa da kɔ́zo. [40]í goe | í sára ngú míngi ká. [41]í sára ngú otá, | na mbi ngbá tí sárángó école lá kɔ́ɛ́. [42]í dutí ká.

[33]Now the wife of my uncle heard about it. [34]She took me and beat me very badly. [35]So now I ran away. [36]I went and stayed in the house of a certain person over there on the lower side. [37]Afterwards, it wasn't too long after, my mother took to the road and came after me. [38]She came and took me and returned with me. [39]And now I, and Mother, and Father, and all my siblings, we went to Fort Archambault, to the place where Father had worked before. [40]We went and spent many years there. [41]We stayed three years, and I continued to go to school regularly. [42]We lived there.

[43]ámɛ́rengɛ́ ní ká, | ála ɛkɛ na yoró, | alíngbi apɛ. [44]angbá kɛ́tɛ́, | ála poisonné mbi. [45]yá tí mbi asúku, | akɔnɔ tongana ballon, | sí ála pompé ní. [46]na fadesó, | mamá tí mbi adutí gí na vundú. [47]atoto | alíngbi apɛ. [48]agoe na mbi na docteur. [49]docteur a-soigné mbi gbá. [50]mamá agá | amú mbi | akírí na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí aú tí lo, na Bossangoa. [51]í goe ká. [52]aú tí lo ní asára yóró ní ngbii. [53]yá tí mbi ní agá, | a-diminué awe, | mamá agá | amú mbi. [54]na babá kɔ́ɛ́ atɛnɛ, | ní yí tí ngbá na Fort Archambault apɛ. [55]amú mbi, | akírí na mbi na Bangui. [56]ní laá | í gá | í lángó na ní na Bangui ngbii. [57]í gá | í sára ngú míngi na Bangui. [58]ní laá | sí nzala

[43]The children there, they had more charms! [44]A little more, and they would have poisoned me. [45]My stomach swelled and grew big like a balloon, as if they had pumped it up. [46]Now my mother was full of grief. [47]She cried a great deal. [48]She took me to the doctor. [49]The doctor treated me to no avail. [50]Mother came and took me and returned to the village of her uncle, in Bossangoa. [51]We went there. [52]Her uncle made medicine for a while. [53]When my stomach had finally got smaller again, Mother came and took me. [54]And Father also said that he didn't want to stay in Fort Archambault. [55]They took me and returned with me to Bangui. [56]That's

tí kíríngó na Fort Archambault a-sára mbi bíaní apɛ. [59]í ngbá gí na Bangui. [60]mbi sára école ngbii.

[61]na tongana, l'heure só í sára kóé, | tongana mbi kɔmɔ, | fadé yí só kóé, | fadé mbi hínga. [62]mais, yí ní laá, | mbi de mɛ́rɛngɛ́, | mbi hínga kóé apɛ. [63]mbi kɔmɔ ngbii kóé | sí mamá agá sára tɛ́nɛ́ ní na pekɔ́. [64]ni laá mbi hínga ndá ní.

why we came and lived in Bangui a long time. [57]We came and spent many years in Bangui. [58]That's why I have no real desire to return to Fort Archambault. [59]We just stay in Bangui. [60]I went to school a long time.

[61]But when we did all that, if I had been grown up, all those things, I would have understood them. [62]But the thing of it was, I was still a child, and I didn't understand it all. [63]After I had finished growing, then Mother came and told me afterwards. [64]That's how I know about it.

Chapter 18

READINGS

The texts which follow have been selected from the corpus in such a way as to be as representative as possible. In other words, they represent a wide variety of speakers as well as of types of speech. The variables which have been considered in making the selection, as regards speakers, include sex, age, native language, religious background, and degree of sophistication. The last is, obviously, a rather subjective criterion, but included in it are such matters as amount and kind of education, amount of travel, opportunities for employment bringing close contact with Whites, living in the city, and so forth. As for the kinds of texts included, there are ethnographic notes, (A texts), a conversation, fables, the more sequential portions of an interview, narratives of childhood memories, and selections from radio programs. One brief letter has been included to illustrate one direction in which written style may possibly develop. Following is a brief sketch of each informant.

Cooking Caterpillars (A8). The informant was Ibouka Hélène, an adult married woman, a native speaker of Banda, born at Bouca, a Protestant, with extensive travel experience, an inhabitant of Bangui, with a knowledge of reading and writing in Sango.

Cooking Greens (A11). The informant is Susanne Yada, an adult married woman, a native speaker of Ngbaka-Manza, born at Damara, a Protestant, also widely traveled and a resident of Bangui, with a knowledge of reading and writing in Sango.

Old-Time Iron-Working (A13). The informant is Wikọ André, an elderly man, a native speaker of Manza, born at Fort Crampel, employed by Protestant missionaries for many years as a kitchen helper, with a knowledge of reading in Sango. It should be noted that sentences 23, 35, and 29 are questions asked by Samarin of the informant.

Hunting With Nets (A50). The informant is Kadi, an adult man, a native speaker of Isungu, born at Mbaiki, employed as a carpenter, a Catholic knowing how to read and write French moderately well.

Women Discuss Clothes (C31). The informants are A. an adult woman, a native speaker of Ali, resident at Mbaiki, a Protestant, with a wide experience of the world and a knowledge of reading in Sango; and B. an adult woman, a native speaker of Manza, resident at Mbaiki, a Protestant, with a wide experience of the world and a knowledge of reading in Sango.

Spider and the Field (F4). The informant is Gabriel Gọri, an adult man, a native speaker of Ngbaka-Manza, born at Dama near Bouca, resident at Bouca, a Protestant catechist with a basic literacy education in Sango.

The Young Man, the Young Girls, and the Old Woman (F7). The informant is Wikọ André, the same as for A13 above.

Building an Airfield and Hunting Elephants (I55). The informant is Ngunzapa, a young married man, a native speaker of Zande, born at Mboki near Obo, resident in his home village, with a certain experience in traveling and in employment with White Men.

Personal Greetings (L3). The writer is Gounté Gédéon, an adult man, a native speaker of Gbɛya, born and resident in a village 25 kilometers west of Bossangoa, a Protestant catechist, blind but literate in Braille in his native language and Sango. The letter was dictated.

Buying and Selling in the Market (N78). The informant is Suzanne Baye, an adolescent girl, daughter of a French father and a Gbɛya mother and a native speaker of Creole Sango, born and resident in Bangui, a Protestant with a secondary education in French.

A School Day (N79). See 7.22 for text, and chp. 17 for data about the informant.

Childhood Experiences (N80). The informant is Suzanne Baye, as for N78 above.

The Liver Fluke Disease (R4a). Both speakers are radio announcers, well educated in French. The one who introduces the questions (sentences 1 to 19) and who closes the program (sentences 32 to 35) is Albert Jeume, while the one who presents the answers (sentences 20 to 31) is Gaston Ngerezange. Both are adult men, whose native language and place of birth are unknown to us, and both are Catholics.

Announcing a Show (R7f). The informant is Pauline Mbamba, an adult woman, native language and place of birth unknown, well educated in French and a professional radio announcer, and a Catholic.

Recipe: Kidneys with Wine (R9a). There are again two speakers. The one who introduces the program (sentences 1 to 11) is Léon Théophile Zouma, an adult man, native language and place of birth unknown, well educated in French, a professional radio announcer, and a Catholic. The other (sentences 12 through to the end) is Cécile Simba, an adult woman, native language and place of birth unknown, well educated in French, a professional radio announcer and a Catholic.

A few typographical conventions have been used in the Sango text of the selections:

(...) indicates material purposely omitted, either because it was of no interest or because it contained too many anomalies.

[ ] indicates editorial insertions, where a word is obviously missing.

... indicates material that was unintelligible on the tape.

** indicates editorial emendations of words; some pauses have been tidied up, but without being indicated.

Material in parentheses in the translation is added for intelligibility.

Cooking Caterpillars (A8)

[1]na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi, tongana ámamá agoe na ngonda tí mú makongó, na ála mú makongó kóé awe, agá sí na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ fadesó. [2]azía ála na yá tí sakpá. [3]alumgúla lé tí wá, agá túku na ndó tí makongó só na yá tí sakpá. [4]amú lé tí wá míngi míngi azía na ndó ní, na kɔ́á tí ála só ɔ́kɔ ɔ́kɔ kóé agbí. [5]sí mamá agá túku ála na yá tí ta. [6]azía ngú da, asukúla.

[1]In my village, when the mothers used to go into the bush to get caterpillars, and when they had finished gathering them, they would go into the village. [2]They put them into a basket. [3]They took live coals and dumped them on top of the caterpillars in the basket. [4]They took lots of coals and put them on top of them, and every single one of their (i.e. the caterpillars') hairs burned. [5]Then mother went and dumped them into a pot. [6]She put water in and washed them.

[7]encore, azía ta na wá. [8]fadesó atúku ála da ayɔ́rɔ ála nzoní, ngbangatí ála fų́. [9]tongasó ála lɛkɛ ála kɔ́é nzoní awe, agá zía ála fadesó na yá tí ta. [10]apíka kpí tí sindi na yíngɔ́ tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí basánze, agá mú, agá zía da. [11]amú kpí tí sindi só, atúku na ndó ní. [12]fadesó amɛ́ gɔzɔ da azía na sése.

[13]afú tí í ámɛ́rɛngɛ́. [14]ámɛ́rɛngɛ́ aɛkɛ na mbáge tí tɛ, na ákɔ́tá zo aɛkɛ na mbáge aussi tí tɛ ngá, na ákɔ́li aɛkɛ na mbáge aussi tí tɛ tí ála ngá.

[15]eh bien tí fadesó na Bangui ndo só, mɔ goe mɔ vɔ makongó awe, mɔ gá mɔ túku na yá tí sɛmbɛ́, mɔ mú kété kété zɛmbɛ. [16]tongana mɛ́rɛngɛ́ aɛkɛ na gbɛ́ tí mɔ, eh bien mɔ ɛ̌rɛ̌ mɛ́rɛngɛ́ fadesó.
[17]na tongana mbɛ́ní camarade tí mɔ agá na mɔ, mɔ na lo í dutí tí causé, fadesó íta tí mɔ só amú zɛmbɛ ngá, ála lungúla kíi ní só na tɛ́rɛ́ ní só, alungúla ɔ́kɔ ɔ́kɔ kɔ́é. [18]tongasó sí mɔ bɔ́ngbi na kɔkɔ lége ɔ́kɔ. [19]mɔ zía mafuta na wá. [20]mafuta akɛ kpɔrɔ.
[21]na tongasó, mɔ lɛkɛ makongó só kɔ́é, mɔ kpaka kíi ní só na tɛ́rɛ́ tí ála nzoní ngbangatí agbɔ́ gɔ́ tí mɔ.

[7]Next, she put a pot on the fire. [8]Now she dumped them in and fried them well, to prevent their rotting. [9]So when she had well prepared them all, she came and put them next into a pot. [10]She pounded sesame paste with home-made village salt, and came and put it (i.e. this mixture) in. [11]She took this sesame paste, and dumped it on top. [12]Now she stirred manioc into it and put it on the ground.

[13]She gave us children ours. [14]The children were to one side to eat, and the older people were also along one side to eat too, and the men were also along one side to eat theirs too.

[15]But now here in Bangui, when you have gone and bought caterpillars, you come and dump them into a dish, and you take a little knife. [16]If there is a child serving you, you call the child now.
[17]And if a friend of yours comes and you and she sit to chat, now this friend also takes a knife, and you all remove the prickly hairs that are on their bodies, you remove each and every one. [18]When this is done, you combine them with kɔkɔ leaves. [19]You put fat on the fire.
[20]The fat boils. [21]And thus you prepare all the caterpillars, you scrape off all the hairs from their bodies well to prevent their catching in your throat.

[22]tongasó kóé awe, mɔ lɛkɛ kóé awe, fadesó mɔ gá mɔ túku mafuta na yá ta,(...). [23]mɔ ɛkɛ Yakoma tí tɛ mbúrú pɛpɛ. [24]eh bien fadesó, mɔ gá fadesó, mɔ mú l'huile só mɔ zía na yá ta fadesó nzoní, mɔ kánga yángá ní. [25]eh bien, mɔ gá, mɔ fáa yá tí oignon tí mɔ kóé. [26]tongana boîte tí tomate aɛkɛ, mɔ túku da. [27]mɔ lɛkɛ nzoní kóé. [28]fadesó mɔ gá mɔ mú kɔkɔ tí mɔ kóé, mɔ zía na makongó só.

[22]When this is all done, and you have finished fixing them, you pour fat into a pot. ([23]You're not a Yakoma to eat palm oil!) [24]And now, you come and take this oil which you have just put into the pot, you cover it. [25]Now you come and cut up all your onions. [26]If there is a can of tomatoes, you take it and dump it in. [27]You make it very good. [28]Now you come and take all your kɔkɔ leaves, you put them with the caterpillars.

[29]allé mɔ zía ngú na wá, chauffé. [30]mɔ túku makongó só na yá ní. [31]fadesó mɔ gá mɔ lɛkɛ kóé mɔ sukúla propre. [32]mɔ gá mɔ zía na yá tí mafuta. [33]depuis só, andáa, oignon abe awe. [34]mɔ túku makongó só na yá ní. [35]tongana alíngbi na l'heure tí túku ngú da, mɔ zía ngú da. [36]fadesó na pɛkó ní mɔ yí tí báa ndo, mɔ zía kpí. [37]mɔ mú kɔ́sɔ́, kpí ní aɛkɛ kɔ́sɔ́, mɔ mú mɔ zía da fadesó.

[29]Then you put water on the fire to heat. [30]You pour the caterpillars into it. [31]Now you get them all ready, you wash them very clean. [32]You come and put them into the oil. [33]In the meantime, it turns out that the onions are done. [34]You pour the caterpillars into them. [35]When it is time to put water in, you put water in. [36]Now a little while later, you put in paste. [37]You take kɔ́sɔ́ gourd seeds, the paste is (of) gourd seeds, you take and put it in at this time.

[38]eh bien na pɛkɔ́ ní, tongana kɔ́sɔ́ só akpɔrɔ kété, alíngbi na l'heure ní mafuta ní a-commencé sí gígí kóé, eh bien mɔ gá mɔ mú kɔkɔ fadesó, mɔ túku na ndó bé ní. [39]allé mɔ gá mɔ tourné fadesó, mɔ zía na sése. [40]tongana mɔ zía na

[38]Well, later on, when the kɔ́sɔ́ gourd seeds have boiled a little, at that time when the oil (from the seeds) has begun to come to the top, then you take kɔkɔ leaves, you put them on top of it (i.e. the mixture). [39]Now you stir it, and you put it on the ground.

wá jusqu'à, fadé kɔkɔ ní agá ngangó awe. [41]tongana mɔ tourné kété alíngbi na ní awe, mɔ zía na sése.

[42]fadesó tongana mɔ yí tí tɛ na fɔndɔ, mɔ tɛ. [43]tongana mɔ yí tí tɛ na gɔzɔ, mɔ tɛ. [44]só aɛkɛ dépend mɔ. [45]só lége ní laá, makongó só na ndo só laá, na Bangui laá mbi fa só.

[46]mais tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi, í zía kpí tí sindi na ndó ní, na kárákó, sí í kɛ tɛ na ní. [47]tí Bangui laá. [48]aɛkɛ tí zía mafuta na kɔkɔ na oignon, kóɛ́ tí zía da, sí mɔ lɛkɛ nzoní mɔ tɛ. [49]eh bien fadésó na lége tí tɔ́ngó tí wále, na Bangui ndo só, míngi ámbéní wále ahínga tí tɔ́ngó lége tí ngunzá. [50]míngi ámbéní ahínga tí tɔ́ pepɛ. [51]akɛ bi adorónu da, na akɛ píka vɛkɛ́ azía da sí akɛ tɛ na ní. [52]mais, na Bangui, mbéní wále sí a-civilisé awe. [53]lo hínga atɛnɛ ní ɛkɛ wále, só aɛkɛ sára kɔa tí da tí kɔ́li tí lo nzoní, aɛkɛ. [54]lo gá avɔ ngunzá tí páta osió. [55]só a-dépend lo. [56]tongana lo vɔ tí vingt francs, alíngbi lo.

[40]If you leave it on the fire for a long time, then the kɔkɔ leaves will get tough. [41]When you have stirred it a little, but enough, you put it on the ground.

[42]Now if you want to eat it with plantains, you do. [43]If you want to eat it with manioc, you do. [44]That depends on you. [45]That's the way, that's caterpillars here, in Bangui, that I've just described.

[46]But in my village, we put sesame paste on top of it, and peanuts, and then we eat them together. [47]This is Bangui's way. [48]It's to put oil and kɔkɔ leaves and onions, to put it all in, and so you prepare it well and you eat it. [49]But now as concerns the way women cook here in Bangui, many women know how to cook greens. [50]Many others don't know how to cook (them). [51]You put in Hausa salt, and you pound okra and you put it in, and so you eat them together. [52]But in Bangui, some women have become civilized. [53]There is one, she knows that she is a woman who does all the work of her husband's house well. [54]She goes and buys manioc greens worth twenty francs. [55]That depends on her. [56]If she buys twenty francs' worth, that suffices her.

[57]eh bien tongasó, avɔ kóé agá, afáa ngunzá ní kóé, abi kéké ní na sése. [58]eh bien amú ngú azía na wá na ta. [59]aɛkɛ kpɔrɔ. [60]lo mú ngunzá só, na kugbé ní, agá túku na yá tí ngú só a-tourné a-tourné. [61]títɛmɛ asára na wá pɛpɛ. [62]gí ngú só aɛkɛ na wá, aɛkɛ kpɔrɔ. [63]tongasó na amú atúku na yá ní. [64]atourné kóé awe, fadesó lo gá lo lungúla ngunzá só, na yá tí ngú só, azía na yá tí yɛngɛrɛ.

[65]tongana ngú só kóé ayuru da awe, lo mú banc azía na sése allé atúku na ndó bé ní, abóngbi lége ɔ́kɔ na oignon, adé a-écrasé yá ní nzoní. [66]eh bien agá túku na yá tí mafuta fadesó, atɔ́ nzoní. [67]tongana midi alíngbi, kɔ́li tí lo agá tí tɛ, lo báa tongana yąma aɛkɛ na yá ní. [68]andáa yąma aɛkɛ apɛ. [69]taá gí ngunzá séngé, kugbé séngé, sí lo tɔ́ só. [70]mais wále ní aɛkɛ wále tí ndaráa, na lo hínga tí sárángó kɔa tí kɔ́li tí lo, títɛmɛ asára na mabɔ́kɔ óse pɛpɛ, na bɛ́ ɔ́kɔ.

[57]So then when she has bought it, she comes and cuts up the manioc greens and throws away the stems. [58]Then she takes water and puts it on the fire in a pot. [59]It boils. [60]She takes the greens, while they are still leaves, dumps them into the water and stirs and stirs. [61]That is to say, she doesn't do it over the fire. [62]The water alone has been on the fire and has been boiling. [63]And so she takes and dumps them in. [64]When she has stirred them thoroughly, next she comes and removes the greens from the water and puts them into a sieve.

[65]When the water has entirely drained away, she takes a mixing board (Fr. 'bench') and puts it on the ground and pours them (i.e. the greens) on top of it, mixes them with onions, and crushes them well. [66]Then she pours them into oil next, and cooks them well. [67]At noon, her husband comes to eat, and looks to see if there is any meat in it. [68]But there isn't any meat. [69]It's just greens, just plain leaves, that she has cooked. [70]But she is a smart woman, and she knows how to do her husband's work, that is, she doesn't do it half-heartedly (lit. with two hands), but whole-heartedly.

[71]sí fadé kɔ́li tí lo alɔ́ndɔ́ ká na kɔa agá, agá na mbéní ácamarade tí lo sí ála tɛ. [72]atenɛ, oui, madame só ahínga tí lɛkɛ yá da tí lo nzoní. [73]ngunzá tí Bangui laá.	[71]So her husband will leave his job and come, bringing some friends with him to eat. [72]They will say, "Surely, this lady knows how to keep house well." [73]That's manioc greens in Bangui.
[74]mais tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́, tongana tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi, na Bouca, fadesó, mɔ goe mɔ fáa ngunzá na ngɔnda. [75]mɔ gá fadesó, mɔ mú kéké tí wá mɔ bóngbi, mɔ zía ta tí basánze na wá, mɔ tourné ngunzá só kóé na kéké tí gɔzɔ, mɔ zía na yá tí kpu. [76]mɔ sukúla tɛ́rɛ́ ní pepɛ, angbá saleté séngé séngé. [77]mɔ píka ngbii kóé mɔ bi adorónu da, na mɔ mú yíngɔ́ tí basánze encore, mɔ túku da. [78]mɔ mú kpí tí kárákó encore mɔ túku da, mɔ mú vɛkɛ́. mɔ zía da. [79]tí taá kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi laá.	[74]But in the village, as in my village of Bouca, you go cut greens in the bush. [75]Now you come and take firewood and gather it, you put a rustic pot on the fire, you stir all the greens with the manioc stick, you put them in the mortar. [76]You don't wash it (i.e. the mortar), it just remains dirty and unwashed. [77]You pound (the greens) for a good while, you throw in some Hausa salt, and you take some bush salt also and pour it in. [78]You take peanut paste besides and dump it in, and you take okra and put it in. [79]That's the way in my own village.
[80]eh bien mɔ mélangé tongasó mɔ zía na sése mɔ tɛ. [81]na bí, mɔ kɛ lángó. [82]mɔ toto yá tí mɔ, míngi. [83]tenɛtí yɛ̨? [84]tenɛtí mɔ hínga tí lɛkɛ pepɛ. [85]hygiène atenɛ mɔ lɛkɛ yí nzoní mɔ tɔ́ kóbe nzoní propre, sí mɔ tɛ. [86]tongasó apɛ, mɔ língbi tí wara yąma na yá tí mɔ (...).** [87]mais ámbéní míngi, na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi ámbéní míngi ahínga tí tɔ́ ngunzá pepɛ.	[80]And so you mix it like that, you put it on the ground and eat it. [81]At night, you're sleeping. [82]You complain a lot of your stomach. [83]Why? [84]Because you don't know how to fix it. [85]Hygiene says you should prepare things well, you should cook food properly, before eating. [86]If not, you can get parasites inside your belly. [87]But many, in my village many don't know how to prepare greens.

[88]même na Bangui fadesó kóé na
ndo só, ámbéni wále ahínga tí
lɛkɛ yá tí da tí ála pɛpɛ, na
hínga tí tɔ́ ngunzá pɛpɛ. [89]mais
lége só íta, finí ngunzá só
fadesó ɔsí, goe vɔ ngunzá tí mɔ
na galá. [90]mɔ gá zía na ngú na wá
akɛ kpɔrɔ. [91]mɔ túku ngunzá tí mɔ
na yá ní, mɔ lɛkɛ propre. [92]mɔ tɛ,
fadé mɔ língbi tí wara malade tí
yá pɛpɛ. [93]tɛnɛtí í sára kóbe na
lége ní pɛpɛ. [94]ní laá sí í kɛ
wara malade míngi, sí í toto yá
tí í, ndá adé goe l'hôpital,
malade tí yá, malade tí yá.
[95]mais gí na lége tí lɛ́kɛ́ngó kóbe.

[88]Even in Bangui now, right here also,
many women don't know how to keep house,
and they don't know how to cook greens.
[89]But sister, the way these new greens
are nowadays, you go buy your greens
in the market. [90]You come and put
water on the fire, and it boils. [91]You
dump your greens into it, and you make
them clean. [92]When you eat, you won't
get stomach diseases. [93]It's because
we don't make food in the right way.
[94]That is why we get so many sicknesses,
and why we complain of our stomachs,
and in the early morning go to the
hospital, (saying), "Stomach sickness,
stomach sickness!" [95]But it's just on
account of the way we fix food.

[96]na ngú mɔ tó na yá tí ngú
tóngó, mɔ túku na yá tí filtre,
sí mɔ yɔ̨́ nzoní. [97]na tongana mɔ
sára tongasó pɛpɛ, lá kóé mɔ ɛkɛ
wara malade. [98]ndá adé yá tí mbi
asɔ. [99]ndá adé kɔ́li tí mɔ amú
nginza akɛ buba séngé séngé na
yá tí ngonda. [100]mais, gí na lége
tí kóbe só mɔ lɛkɛ nzoní apɛ.

[96]And as for water, when you get it
from the river, pour it into a filter,
so that you may drink it properly.
[97]But if you don't do this, you will
always be getting sick. [98]In the early
morning, "My stomach hurts." [99]In the
early morning, your husband takes money
and wastes it for nothing. [100]All because you don't fix food right.

Cooking Greens (A11)

[1]tongasó, mɔ goe na galá, mɔ wara
ngunzá, mɔ vɔ. [2]mɔ goe na galá,
mɔ vɔ ngunzá, mɔ fáa ngunzá ní
awe, mɔ vɔ kárákó, kpí tí kárákó.
[3]anzɛrɛ na ní míngi. [4]tongasó, mɔ
gá, mɔ fáa ngunzá ní ngbii kóé,

[1]So you go to the market, and you find
and buy some greens. [2]When you've gone
to the market and bought greens, and
cut up the greens, you buy peanuts,
(or rather) peanut paste. [3]It's very
tasty with them. [4]So you come, and

mɔ yɔ́rɔ kóɛ́. [5]mɔ píka yá ní ngbii kóɛ́. [6]goe mɔ vɔ mafuta tí báláwá. [7]mɔ túku da, mɔ tɔ́ na ní ngbii kóɛ́. [8]tongasó, mɔ zía kpí tí kárákó só, mɔ nɛ, ngbii. [9]kárákó ní ari nzoní míngi. [10]mɔ túku kpí tí kárákó só da. [11]tongasó, mɔ píka vɛkɛ́, mɔ zía da. [12]mɔ kánga yángá ní, akpɔrɔ ngbii, awɔ́kɔ nzoní míngi. [13]eh bien tongasó, mɔ mú mɔ zía na sése.	you cut up the greens until they're finished, (then) you fry them. [5]You pound them a while until they're done. [6]You go buy some shea butter. [7]You dump it in, and you cook it together for a while until it's done. [8]Then you put in the peanut paste, which you've thoroughly crushed for a while. [9]The peanuts are very well crushed. [10]You put in these peanuts. [11]So then you pound okra and put it in. [12]You cover it (i.e. the pot), and it boils a while, until it (i.e. the food) is good and soft. [13]So then you take and put it on the ground.
[14]mɔ sára kóbe ngbii, jusqu'à. [15]midi a-língbi awe, mɔ gá mɔ mú sɛmbɛ́, mɔ túku da, ngbii, kóɛ́. [16]mɔ goe zía na ndó tí table. [17]mɔ lɛkɛ na nzoní. [18]ngunzá ní aɛkɛ nzoní. [19]tongana mɔ yí dɛ, títɛnɛ, mɔ zía bágara da, tí tɔ́ na ní, só aɛkɛ nzoni. [20]mɔ mú mɔ zía na ndó tí table. [21]l'heure tí midi alíngbi awe, tongasó kɔ́li tí mɔ alóndó ká na kɔa, agá. [22]a-commencé tí dutí na yángá tí ngunzá só tí tɛ́ngó ní. [23]eh bien, lo tɛ ngunzá ní kóɛ́ awe, mɔ goe mɔ mú na lo ngú, lo sukúla mabɔ́kɔ tí lo kóɛ́, lo yɔ̨ ngú na pɛkɔ́ ní. [24]ngunzá ní anzɛrɛ míngi. [25]só tɔ́ngó yí tí áwále laá.	[14]You spend some time fixing the food. [15]When noon has come, you take a dish, and you put (the food) in it, until it's all ready. [16]You go put it on the table. [17]You fix it nicely. [18]The greens are very good. [19]If you wish, you may put some beef into it, to cook with it, and that's very good. [20]You take it and put it on the table. [21]When noon has fully come, then your husband leaves work and comes. [22]He begins to sit before these greens to eat them. [23]Then when he has finished eating the greens, you go get him some water, he washes his hands, and afterwards drinks some water. [24]The greens are very tasty. [25]That's the way women cook food.

Old-Time Iron-Working (A13)

[1]kózo ní, ákőtará tí áni asára kótá pɔtɔpɔ́tɔ tongasó jusqu'à, [a]-monté na ndúzú. [2]na ndá ní, ála mú mbéní átɛ́mɛ́. [3]amú mbéní tɛ́mɛ́ tongasó, ála zɔ́ á-charbon, abőngbi ála lége ɔ́kɔ. [4]tongasó, asára kótá wá da. [5]na tɛ́mɛ́ só, aɛkɛ tɛ́mɛ́ só, wɛ̨ aɛkɛ na yá ní. [6]wɛ̨ ní aɛkɛ descend na sése, aɛkɛ gá tí lo, na mbéní [yí] tí saleté aɛkɛ sí gígí na mbéní kété dṹ.

[7]na ndá ní, ála sára na wá, jusqu'à tongana wɛ̨ ní agá dutí na sése awe. [8]a-commencé na sept heures, jusqu'à, tongana aɛkɛ ndápéréré, wɛ̨ só agá, ahúnzi awe. [9]purú tí lo kőé así gígí kőé awe, na taá wɛ̨ ní aɛkɛ. [10]tongasó ála mú mbéní wɛ̨ só, ála sára éré [ní] sab'a, ála mú na gígí, na ála fáa yá ní. [11]tongasó ála kángbi, ála sára na ngáfó.

[12]na fadesó, na pópó tí áni, tongana mbunzú agá awe, ála zía lége ní awe. [13]tongasó, kőtará tí áni fadesó, akɛ sára mbéní yí tongasó encore apɛ, na ála girísa lége tí wɛ̨ tí ála kőé awe. [14]na áni hínga aɛkɛ yí tí mbito míngi, tongana ála girísa yí tí

[1]Formerly, our ancestors used to make a great pile of mud like that (making a gesture) until it was high in the air. [2]Afterwards, they took certain stones. [3]When they had taken certain stones like this, and had made charcoal, they combined them. [4]And so they made a great fire in it. [5]Now these stones were stones in which there was iron. [6]The iron used to come down, and some impurities used to come out through another small hole.

[7]Afterwards, they kept up the fire, until the iron had finished coming down to the ground. [8]They began at seven o'clock, until, when it was morning, the iron had finished coming. [9]All its impurities had finished coming out, and the real iron was there. [10]And so they took a certain tool, which they called sab'a (i.e. tongs), and they took it out (with the tongs) and divided it. [11]And thus they divided it up and made it into hoes.

[12]But now, among us, since the White Man has come, they have given up this way. [13]And so now, our elders aren't making things like this any more, and they have forgotten their way with iron entirely. [14]Now we know it is a fearful thing when men have forgotten the things of the village. [15]Among us,

kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ awe. [15]na pópó tí áni, áni báa, aɛkɛ tongasó, ála girísa yí tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ awe. [16]na áwále só aɛkɛ lɛkɛ ta, fadesó ála zía lége tí lɛkɛ ta awe. [17]ála sára ta encore pepɛ. [18]na pópó tí áni, áwále tí Manza asára ta encore pepɛ. [19]ázo tí sára wɛ̧ ála lɛkɛ wɛ̧ mbéní encore pepɛ. [20]tongasó, ála kɛ kú tí wara, tongana ála wara ressort tí kutukutu só aɛkɛ fáa ála sára na ngáfó, ála kɛ sára na mbéní yí ndé, mais ála sára goigói fadesó míngi. [21]na áni hínga yí tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí áni aɛkɛ diminué awe. [22]na lége tí ákótará tí áni fadesó, a-diminué awe.

we realize that it's like that, that they have forgotten the things of the village. [16]And those women who used to make pots, now they have given up making pots. [17]They don't make pots any more. [18]Among us Manza women, we don't make pots any more. [19]Iron workers don't work with iron any more. [20]So they wait to see if they can find a broken car spring from which they may make hoes, from which they can make other things, for they are very lazy now. [21]And we realize that the things of our village have diminished. [22]And the ways of our ancestors have diminished by now.

[23]ngáfó aɛkɛ yɛ̧?
[24]ngáfó aɛkɛ kpɔ́ka.
[25]tí fáa na yáká?
[26]tí fáa na yáká. [27]tongasó, na yángá tí mbi, éré [ní] wara.
[28]mais ngáfő aɛkɛ yángá tí Banda.
[29]sab'a aɛkɛ yɛ̧?
[30]sab'a aɛkɛ mbéní wɛ̧ só alɛkɛ tongasó, tí gbó na wɛ̧ na lé tí wá.

[23]What is a "ngáfó?"
[24]A "ngáfő" is a hoe.
[25]To make a garden with?
[26]To make a garden with. [27]Now in my language, its name is "wara." [28]But "ngáfő" is in the Banda language.
[29]What is a "sab'a?"
[30]A "sab'a" is a certain iron tool which they make like this to grab the iron from out of the fire.

Hunting with Nets (A5o)

[1]na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí í í ɛkɛ goe na gbánda. [2]kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí í aɛkɛ Gbogbondo. [3]babá tí mbi aɛkɛ Sekolo. [4]í kɛ goe na gbánda, na ámɛrɛngɛ́

[1]In our part of the country we go out with nets. [2]Our village is Gbogbondo. [3]My father is Sekolo. [4]We go out with nets, with many children, all our

míngi, áíta tí í kɔ́ɛ́, na ámbéní
zo tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ míngi. [5]í na ála kɔ́ɛ́
i goe na gbánda. [6]akánga gbánda
tí fáa yąma. [7]tongana í fáa yąma
awe, í gá place tí bála ní. [8]í
mú yąma só, í kángbi, tɛnɛtí á-famille.
[9]ála tɛ kɛ́tɛ́ kɛ́tɛ́ kɛ́tɛ́
jusqu'à alíngbi, alíngbi ála.
[10]í mú tanga ní, tongana tanga ní
angbá, í vɔ na nginza, tɛnɛtí payé
l'impôt tí gouvernement. [11]aɛkɛ
tongasó, só í kɛ sára na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́
tí í na Gbogbondo.

[12]ɛ̨ɛ̨ mbéní tɛ́nɛ́ ní aɛkɛ kɛ́tɛ́.
[13]tongana makunzi tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí
í, í fáa yąma awe, í mú mbéní, í
mú na makunzi. [14]tɛnɛtí yɛ̨. [15]lo
vɛní sí a-commandé kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́. [16]na
kapíta só, premier kapíta só
aɛkɛ na pɛkɔ́ tí makunzi, í mú
mbɛ́ní yąma, í mú na ála. [17]tɛnɛtí
yɛ̨. [18]lo sí a-commandé kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ sí
í mú na ála.

[19]í ɛkɛ goe sára mbéní lángɔ́, ou
bien nzɛ ɔ́se kɔ́ɛ́, mbéní nzɛ otá
na gbánda, mbɛ́ní nzɛ otá na
gbánda. [20]oui, ámbéní zo aɛkɛ
dú ámɛ́rɛngɛ́ gí na gbánda.
[21]jusqu'à mbéní mɛ́rɛngɛ́ adutí
kɔ́ɛ́ tongana tí Ngumape só kɔ́ɛ́.
[22]na mbáge tí í aɛkɛ tongasó.

brothers, and many other villagers.
[5]We all go out with nets together.
[6]We set up the nets, to kill animals.
[7]When we've killed an animal, we come
to the camping place. [8]We take the
animal, we divide it up, for the
(various) families. [9]They eat little by
little until they've had enough, enough
for them. [10]We take what's left, if
there is any left over, and we sell it
for money to pay the government's
taxes. [11]It's like this that we do it
in our village of Gbogbondo.

[12]Oh yes, there's one more little thing.
[13]When there's a chief in the village,
when we've killed an animal, we take
some (meat) and give it to the chief.
[14]Why? [15](just because) it's he who commands
the village. [16]And the headmen,
the first headmen who come just after the
chief, we take some of the meat and
give it to them. [17]Why? [18]Just because
he commands the village, so that we
give some to them.

[19]We go out for a number of days, perhaps
two full months, other times three
months with the nets, other times
three full months with the nets. [20]Yes,
and some people even have babies out by
the nets. [21]After a while, some of the
children sit up completely just like
this one of Ngumape's. [22]It's like
that out our way.

Women Discuss Clothes (C31)

A. [1]íta. [2]bara o.	A. [1]Sister. [2]Hello.
B. [3]bara míngi o.	B. [3]A cordial hello.
A. [4]íta. [5]mɔ wara pendere bɔngɔ́ ní só na ndo wa.	A. [4]Sister. [5]Where did you get those beautiful clothes?
B. [6]íta, mbi wara na Moura-Gouveia o.	B. [6]Sister, I got them at Moura-Gouveia.
A. [7]íta. [8]zo wasó avɔ na mɔ pendere bɔngɔ́ ní só.	A. [7]Sister. [8]Who bought you these beautiful clothes?
B. [9]íta. [10]kɔ́li tí mbi apɛ?	B. [9]Sister. [10]Wasn't it my husband?
A. [11]íta. [12]kɔ́li tí mɔ só ayí mɔ míngi ma.	A. [11]Sister. [12]Your husband must love you a lot.
B. [13]lo yí mbi ngbangatí mbi sára kɔa tí lo míngi apɛ?	B. [13]Doesn't he love me because I do a lot of work for him?
A. [14]mais íta, mɔ sára kɔa ahɔ̨ ámbéní wále na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ só kóe sí mɔ wara pendere bɔngɔ́ só?	A. [14]But sister, do you do so much more work than all the other women of the village, to get these beautiful clothes?
B. [15]íta. [16]ka mɔ hínga manière tí wále aɛkɛ ndé ndé apɛ?	B. [15]Sister. [16]Don't you know that the wiles of women are many?
A. [17]íta o, fadé mbi wara tí mbi pendere bɔngɔ́ na ndo wa o.	A. [17]But sister, where will I get beautiful clothes?
B. [18]o íta, tongana mɔ sára kɔa tí kɔ́li tí mɔ nzoní, fadé mɔ wara ngá kóé séngé.	B. [18]Oh sister, if you do your husband's work well, you'll get some also without any trouble.
A. [19]mais íta, mbi kɛ sukúla bɔngɔ́ na kɔ́li só, ka mbi passé, ka mbi wara pendere bɔngɔ́ tongasó apɛ ma.	A. [19]But sister, I wash this man's clothes, and I iron, and I still don't get any beautiful clothes like this.
B. [20]o íta hínga apɛ, mɔ sára kɔa ní juste apɛ.	B. [20]Oh, sister, it might be that you don't do the work very well.
A. [21]mais íta, mɔ fa manière tí kɔa ní só mɔ kɛ sára sí mɔ wara na yí tongasó na mbi apɛ?	A. [21]Then sister won't you show me the way you do your work so as to get things like this?
B. [22]íta, kɔa ní apɛ. [23]lo lóndó na kɔa na midi agá mɔ embrassé lo.	B. [22]Sister, it's not the work. [23]When he leaves work at noon, come kiss him.

[24]mɔ mú chapeau na li tí lo. [25]mɔ mú na lo ngú lo sukúla lɛ́ tí lo. [26]kɔa ní laá awe.	[24]Take his hat from his head. [25]Give him water to wash his face. [26]That's all the work there is to it.
A. [27]mais íta, lá kóé mbi kɛ sára na lo tongasó. [28]ndo ka mbi balayé. (...) [29]mais kɔ́li só ayí mbi mbírímbírí apɛ.	A. [27]But sister, I always do this for him. [28]Like sweeping, I sweep the place. [29]But this man doesn't love me the right way.
B. [30]o í hínga ngá yí ní apɛ. [31]peut-être bɛ́ tí lo ayí mɔ apɛ laá.	B. [30]Oh, we don't understand the thing. [31]Perhaps it's because his liver doesn't like you.
A. [32]mais íta, mbi má ála tene ála kɛ mú kɔ́li gí na kété yoró tí bata tɛ́rɛ́ apɛ?	A. [32]But sister, I've heard it said that they catch a man just with some little good luck charm, isn't that so?
B. [33]o íta, zo ahánda mɔ apɛ. [34]yoró aɛkɛ séngé. [35]sí zo ahánda mɔ séngé tí foutu nginza tí mɔ apɛ?	B. [33]Oh sister, don't let people gull you. [34]Charms are nothing. [35]Aren't people just tricking you to waste your money?
A. [36]mais íta, mɔ hánda mbi apɛ mɔ sára na mbi taá tɛ́nɛ́ fadé mbi kóé mbi démerdé na lége tí yí tongasó mbi wara ngá bɔngɔ́ mbi yú ma.	A. [36]But sister, don't tease me, tell me the truth so I too can manage in the same way and get clothes to wear.
B. [37]jamais, gí kɔa tí da tí kɔ́li ɔ́kɔ awe.	B. [37]Never, it's just the work of the husband's house, that's all.
A. [38]mais íta, mɔ báa ɔ́kɔ bɔngɔ́ só avurú na tɛ́rɛ́ tí mbi, mbi yí tí goe na marché, kaméla akɛ sára mbi míngi apɛ?	A. [38]But sister, just look at this one dress which is faded on me so that when I want to go to the market, don't I get completely embarrassed?
B. [39]o hínga apɛ, nginza aɛkɛ na lo apɛ laá lo sára mɔ tongasó. [40]mɔ prié gí na Nzapá awe.	B. [39]It just might be that he doesn't have any money, and that's why he treats you like this. Just pray to God, that's all.
A. [41]mais íta, lá kóé mbi kɛ prié. [42]quand même nginza ní aɛkɛ da, lo vɔ na mbi bɔngɔ́ apɛ. [43]fadé mbi sára tongana yę.	A. [41]But sister, I'm always praying. [42]Even though there is money, he doesn't buy me any clothes. [43]What'll I do?

B. [44]só séngé. [45]mɔ língbi tí kɛ̧ lo ngbangatí bɔngɔ́ lá wa. [46]kɔ́li tí mɔ apɛ?

A. [47]mais íta, lo kɛ changé bɔngɔ́ lá kóé lɛ́ kóé. [48]mais mbi wále ní mbi changé bɔngɔ́ apɛ. [49]ázo akɛ báa mbi. [50]kaméla akɛ sára mbi míngi. [51]fadé mbi kírí na lo mbéní lá apɛ.

B. [52]só séngé o.

A. [53]só séngé apɛ. [54]mbi báa yí da míngi. [55]lá kóé lo kɛ yú finí bɔngɔ́. [56]mais mbi kɛ ngbá gí na ngbéré bɔngɔ́ tongasó. [57]só aɛkɛ yí tí kaméla apɛ?

B. [58]só séngé. [59]prié gí Nzapá awe. [60]yí aɛkɛ da apɛ.

A. [61]mais íta, mbi prié. [62]tongana mabɔ́kɔ tí lo ayí da apɛ, fadé asára tongana yɛ̧.

B. [63]peut-être bɛ́ tí lo ayí mɔ apɛ laá akɛ sára mɔ sáná só.

A. [64]mais íta, fadé mbi sára mariage ɔ́se. [65]mbi língbi tí yí lo encore mbéní apɛ.

B. [66]só séngé. [67]mariage ní gí ɔ́kɔ awe.

A. [68]mais íta, ndá tí mariage ní lo só. [69]mbi lɛkɛ yí kóé. [70]mbi lɛkɛ pendere kóbe. [71]mbi yɔ́rɔ yɔ́rɔ́ngó na oignon na tomate kóé. [72]lá kóé mbi kɛ yɔ́rɔ na lo pomme de terre kóé. [73]mais lo tɛ yí tí mbi gí na mbáná séngé.

B. [44]That's nothing. [45]You can't reject him just over clothes! [46]Isn't he your husband?

A. [47]But sister, he's always changing his clothes. [48]But I, (his) wife, I don't get to change clothes. [49]People stare at me. [50]I'm very much embarrassed. [51]I won't return to him any more.

B. [52]That's nothing!

A. [53]That's *not* nothing. [54]I see a lot in it. [55]He's always wearing new clothes. [56]But I just remain in old clothes like this. [57]Isn't that an embarrassing thing?

B. [58]That's nothing. [59]Just pray to God. [60]There's nothing to it.

A. [61]But sister, I pray. [62]If he doesn't agree, what can be done?

B. [63]Perhaps his liver doesn't love you, and that's why he's causing you such suffering.

A. [64]But sister, I'll go get married again. [65]I can't love him any longer.

B. [66]That's nothing. [67]There can be only one marriage.

A. [68]But sister, this is the end of the marriage. [69]I fix everything. [70]I fix wonderful food. [71]I fry it with onions and tomatoes and all. [72]I always fry potatoes and all for him. [73]But he just eats my food without any appreciation.

B. [74]íta lo yí mɔ apɛ. [75]peut-être lo kɛ sára tongasó lo ɛkɛ na mbénî íta akɛ gí hánda lo. [76]mɔ hínga áwa tí Bangui apɛ?	B. [74]Sister, he doesn't love you. [75]Perhaps he's doing this because some sister is enticing him. [76]Don't you know these people of Bangui?
A. [77]mais íta hánda lo apɛ. [78]lo kɛ hánda só mbi.	A. [77]But no sister is enticing him! [78]He's just cheating me.
B. [79]mais íta mɔ sára tɛ́nɛ́ mais mɔ kírí mɔ fáa baba na lé tí mbunzú tí Nzapá só tongana yɛ̨.	B. [79]But sister, you're talking, but how come you went and acted so proud before God's White Man like this?
A. [80]íta só aɛkɛ mbunzú tí í na mɔ kóé. [81]aɛkɛ babá tí í na mɔ kóé. [82]baba tí yɛ̨ sí mbi fa na lé tí lo. [83]aɛkɛ kɔ́li tí gíngó mbi lá wa.	A. [80]Sister, isn't He your White Man and mine? [81]He's my father and yours too. [82]What pride is it that I've shown before him? [83]He's not a man to try and take advantage of me!
B. [84]he mais íta só baba tí mɔ akɛ sára apɛ? [85]lo kɛ fa na mɔ títɛnɛ mɔ fa na í tɛ́nɛ́. [86]mɔ kírí mɔ hé gí ngiá na lé tí lo. [87]só sárángó yí tí yɛ̨.	B. [84]Wait a bit, sister, isn't that your pride showing there? [85]He tells you things so you will talk to him. [86]Then you turn around and laugh in his face. [87]What kind of carrying on is that?
A. [88]íta ngbangatí tɛ́nɛ́ só mɔ tɛnɛ amú ngiá na mbi laá mbi hé só apɛ?	A. [88]Sister, wasn't it because what you said amused me that I laughed?
B. [89]mais íta yí tí mɔ só mɔ sára kété amú kaméla na mbi míngi ɛ̨.	B. [89]But sister, this thing which you're doing is making me very much ashamed.
A. [90]ɛ̨ɛ̨ íta kaméla aɛkɛ apɛ. [91]só séngé.	A. [90]Eh, sister, there's no shame. [91]That's nothing.
B. [92]a mɔ wɔ́kɔ ngá bɛ́ tí mɔ. [93]mɔ sára ngá tɛ́nɛ́ na pasteur mbírímbírí ma. [94]íta só yɛ̨ só?	B. [92]Oh, get off your high horse (lit. soften your liver). [93]Talk sense to the pastor. [94]Sister, what in the world is this?
A. [95]íta, ní laá mbi kɛ tɛnɛ só apɛ? (...).	A. [95]Sister, isn't that what I've been saying? (...)

B. [96]mais tɛ́nɛ́ ní laá mɔ kɛ tɛnɛ só. [97]mais mbi báa fángó baba ahǫ́ ndó bé ní apɛ? íta.

A. [98]íta, baba aɛkɛ apɛ, gɔ́ títɛnɛ tí mbi lá kóɛ́ laá.

B. (...) [99]tɛ́nɛ́ tí mɔ kóé gí lɛkɛ gɔ́ tí mɔ tí déngé na gɔ́ tí mɔ na mbáge tongasó. [100]íta, ngbangatí pendere bɔngɔ́ sí mɔ kɛ fa só.

A. [101]ka íta, mbi sí mbi tɛnɛ kɔ́li tí mɔ avɔ na mɔ bɔngɔ́ apɛ sí mɔ kɛ zía bɛ́ na ndó tí bɔngɔ́ tí mbi wa.

B. [102]íta, mbi toto ngá míngi bɔngɔ́ na mɔ apɛ? [103]mbi língbi tí sára boy na mɔ apɛ. [104]mais mbi kɛ ngá gí [na] chiffon tí mbi só lá kóɛ́.

A. [105]Jean ngá ayí kóɛ́. [106]aɛkɛ ngá. mɔ dutí.

B. [108]mais íta, lá kóé mbi kɛ yú chiffon. [109]éré tí mbi ngá gí zo wa. [110]adé ngá éré tí mbi zo wa. [111]adé ngá mɔ zo yɛ̨ asɔ mbi yɛ̨.

A. [112]ka íta, gí ní laá apɛ.

B. [113]tí báa kótá yí na ndó sése só ahǫ́ kóbe tí yɛ̨. [114]lá kóé mbi kɛ tɛ. [115]quand même mbi yú apɛ, tɛ́nɛ́ aɛkɛ apɛ.

A. [116]íta, só séngé yí ahǫ́ yí kóɛ́.

B. [96]But isn't that what you've been saying? [97]But don't I see pride beyond measure, sister?

A. [98]Sister, there's no pride. that's my ordinary voice there.

B. (...) [99]All your talk is just to alter your voice with your neck bent to one side like this (i.e. to whine cajolingly). [100]Sister, it's on account of beautiful clothes that you're showing off like this.

A. [101]But sister, wasn't it I who said your husband bought you clothes, and how is it that you're expressing envy of my clothes?

B. [102]Sister, don't I cry much for clothes with you? [103]I'm not about to become your servant. [104]But I also have just this rag of mine all the time.

A. [105]Jean also agrees (i.e. with me). [106]He's here. [107]Sit down.

B. [108]But sister, I always wear rags. [109]My name is just "Who's that?" [110]They just call me "Who's that?" [111]If they call you also "Who's that?" how can that bother me?

A. [112]But sister, that's not it at all.

B. [113]To see great things on the earth, how does that surpass food? [114]I eat every day. [115]Even if I don't wear (clothes), that's nothing.

A. [116]Sister, that's the most insignificant thing of all.

B. [117]tongana mbi gí bɛ́ tí mbi na légé tí ndoé tí Nzapá, fadé mbi kɛ wara bɔngɔ́ ká na yáyú ahɔ̨́ mɔ apɛ? íta. [118]yú yí tí mɔ.	B. [117]If I search my heart according to the love of God, won't I receive clothes over there in heaven more than you, sister? [118]Go on and wear your things.
A. [119]só séngé o. [120]mɔ pensé apɛ o.	A. [119]That's nothing! [120]Think nothing of it.

Spider and the Field (F4)

[1]tongasó, así na l'heure tí nzala. [2]mbéní kɔ́li ɔ́kɔ, lo fáa yáká tí gbánza tí lo míngi. [3]lo lú kawai na yá ní míngi. [4]lé tí kóbe ndé ndé aɛkɛ. [5]tongasó, tongana lo lú awe, mɔ tɛrɛ mɔ tambéla ngbii, mɔ goe mɔ sí, mɔ báa yáká tí lo. [6]tɛrɛ atambéla yángá ní, jusqu'à. [7]tɛrɛ ngá lo fáa yáká awe. [8]mais kóbe tí yáká tí lo ní, sése ní aɛkɛ nzoní pepɛ, alé pepɛ. [9]mais lá kóé, tongana ngú Nzapá akɛ kánga yángá tí ála.	[1]So there came a time of famine. [2]A certain man made himself a great corn field. [3]He planted a lot of squash in the midst of it. [4]Many kinds of food seeds were in it. [5]So, when he had planted, you spider you walked a while, until you came, and you arrived, and you saw his field. [6]Spider walked along the edge for a while. [7]Spider also had made a field. [8]But (as for) food in his garden, the soil wasn't good, it didn't bear. [9]Now every day, the rain prevented their eating (lit. shut their mouths).
[10]tongasó, tɛrɛ atambéla ngbii, así na yáká tí kɔ́li só, atɛnɛ mon vieux, só kóbe tí yáká sí aɛkɛ na aú só. [11]tongasó, tɛrɛ atɛnɛ fadé ní sára tongana yɛ̨, ngbangatí yáká tí lo só. [12]ní ɛkɛ tí ní na kóbe pepɛ só. [13]tongasó, tɛrɛ atɛnɛ, fadé mbi kírí na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́, mbi sára mbéní manière tí báa.	[10]And so spider continued walking, and came to this man's field, and said, "Wow, is that ever some food garden that Uncle has there! [11]So spider said, "What will I do about this field of his? [12]Since I don't have any food." [13]And so spider said, "I'll return to the village and pull some trick to see."

[14]tɛrɛ akírí na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́, agoe jusqu'à. [15]atomba woga, amú mbéní yąma só, éré tí lo aɛkɛ na ngonda, aɛkɛ woga. [16]lo ɛkɛ bingbá yąma. [17]amú lo ká awe. [18]agá amu ngbɛ́rɛ́ná tí ákótá zo só ála kɛ du na tɛ́rɛ́ tí mbo só, adu na tɛ́rɛ́ tí woga awe. [19]azía éré na ndó tí woga só atɛnɛ, éré tí mbo ní só, ndaka-si-d'oŋ-na. [20]tongasó, lo mú woga só, lo bata na tɛ́rɛ́ tí da.

[21]na tongana ayí tí sí na six heures et demie, só ndo avɔkɔ́ awe, lo goe na kɔ́li só, lo tɛnɛ aú, fadɛ́ mɔ goe na mbi ká, í sára ngiá pɛpɛ? [22]tɛnɛtí lá kóé yáká tí kɔ́li só, ábákoyá míngi aɛkɛ foutu kóbe ní. [23]ámɛ́rɛngɛ́ tí lo akɛ tomba gbá. [24]tongasó, kɔ́li só amá tongasó akírí, agoe na tɛrɛ ká. [25]tɛrɛ atɛnɛ, lo, mbo aɛkɛ na ní. [26]tongana lo vɛní lo goe, lo mú mbo só, fadɛ́ atomba áyąma na yángá tí yáká tí lo míngi.

[27]Tongasó, adu kámba kété kété na gɔ́ tí woga só, amú na lo. [28]atɛnɛ lo fadɛ́ mbo ní alángó na lo lángó otá. [29]mais ní pensé, fadɛ́ asára lángó óse, ní goe tí múngó ní.

[14]Spider returned to the village, he walked a long time. [15]He chased a small antelope, he caught a certain animal which is in the bush and whose name is woga. [16]It's a reddish animal. [17]He caught him there. [18]He came and took an old-fashioned brass bell, which they used to fasten to a dog, and fastened it to the antelope. [19]He gave a name (in the Ngbaka-Manza language) to the antelope and said, "The name of this dog is 'Chase-and-not-return.'" [20]So he took this antelope, he kept it by the house.

[21]And when it was about six thirty, when it had become dark, he went to the man and said, "Uncle, won't you go with me over there to chat?" [22]Because the baboons were always destroying the food in this man's field. [23]His children chased them to no avail. [24]So when the man heard this he turned and went over there with spider. [25]Spider said to him, "I have a dog. [26]If you yourself go and take this dog, he will chase the animals from around your field mightily."

[27]And so he fastened a little cord about the neck of this antelope and gave it to him. [28]He said to him, "The dog can stay with you three days. [29]But I think after two days, I'll go get him."

[30]tongasó kɔ́li só amú woga agoe na ní. [31]atɛnɛ lo, tongana lo zía kpó áyą̨ma ní así gígí tí tɛ kóbɛ ní awe sí, fadé lo tomba ála. [32]mais tongana kɔ́li agoe sí na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́, ámɛ́rɛngɛ́ ní ayí tí tomba ábákoyá só na yáká ní. [33]kɔ́li atɛnɛ, non, aú tɛrɛ atɛnɛ tongasó pɛpɛ. [34]mɔ zía ábákoyá ní así gígí míngi na yáká ní sí. [35]tongasó, tongana ábákoyá así gígí kóé awe, kózo ní tɛrɛ atɛnɛ na lo, mbo só, tongana lo wara yą̨ma awe, fadé lo fáa ngɔngɔa tí yą̨ma ní kóé ahúnzi. [36]na tongana lo sára attention pɛpɛ, fadé lo ngbá na ngonda bíaní.

[37]tongasó, kɔ́li só amú woga só awe, na lo fáa kámba na gɔ́ tí woga awe. [38]a-commencé dára woga só. [39]atɛnɛ, čaʔ ndaka-si-d'oŋ-na, čaʔ ndaka-si-d'oŋ-na, čaʔ ndaka-si-d'oŋ-na. [40]Bon, woga ahɔ̨ tí lo bíaní, afáa yá tí yáká ahɔ̨ tí lo, ali ngonda ká awe. [41]tongasó kɔ́li só aérɛ́ ndo na pɛkɔ́ tí lo gbá. [42]woga akpé tí lo bíaní awe. [43]tɛnɛtí lo ɛkɛ yą̨ma.

[44]bon, tɛrɛ adutí na pɛkɔ́ tí lo gí lángó ɔ́kɔ séngé. [45]tɛrɛ agoe. [46]atɛnɛ aú, mú na mbi mbo tí mbi.

[30]And so this man took the antelope and went away with it. [31]He (had) said to him, "If you keep him quiet until the animals have come out to eat the food, he'll chase them." [32]But when the man went and arrived in the village, the children were trying to chase the baboons from the field. [33]The man said, "No, Uncle Spider said not (to do it) like that. [34]Let the baboons come out in great numbers into the field first." [35]And so, when the baboons had all come out--first of all, spider had said to him, "This dog, when he's found animals, he'll destroy the seed (i.e. descendants) of the animals entirely, until there are no more. [36]But if you don't watch out, he'll remain permanently in the bush."

[37]And so this man took this antelope, and cut the cord from its neck. [38]He began to urge on this antelope. [39]He said, "Sick 'em, Chase-and-not return, sick 'em, Chase-and-not-return, sick 'em, Chase-and-not-return." [40]Well, the antelope took off, crossed the field and went away and entered into the bush. [41]And so the man called after it to no avail. [42]The antelope had completely run away. [43]Because he was an animal.

[44]Well, spider waited just one day after leaving it. [45]Spider went. [46]He said,"Uncle, give me back my dog."

[47]lo tɛnɛ oui, mbo ní atomba ábákoyá ní. [48]mais, mbi éré lo gbá gbá gbá. [49]lo kírí pepɛ. [50]terɛ atɛnɛ lo, voilà mbi tɛnɛ na lo awe, ní hínga yángá tí ní pepɛ. [51]ní tɛnɛ, mbo só éré tí lo ndaka-sí-d'oŋ-na. [52]mais tongana lo sára búbá, fadé lo ngbá na ngonda.

[53]tongasó, terɛ atɛnɛ lo, lo mú na ní gí mbo tí ní. [54]kɔ́li só ayí tí dutí, manière aɛkɛ pepɛ. [55]manière aɛkɛ pepɛ. [56]na kɔ́li só atɛnɛ wále tí lo, lo lɛkɛ kóngbá tí ní fadesó. [57]kɔ́li así gígí awe, ála zía lɔ́rɔ́ da, akpé na wále bíaní awe. [58]tongasó, terɛ agoe dutí na yángá tí yáká tí kóbe só, na place tí lo, akɛ tɛ. [59]tongasó aɛkɛ ndá tí nzala aɛkɛ tongasó.

[60]mais fadé mɔ báa na mbɛ́tí tí Matthieu ká, chapitre sept ká. [61]verset aɛkɛ bale ɔ́kɔ na ukú, jusqu'à ndá tí seize. [62]atɛnɛ, tongana zo ayí tí gá na mɔ, aɛkɛ nzoní mɔ hínga bɛ́ tí lo sí, tɛnɛtí prophète tí wátáká míngi aɛkɛ. [63]tongasó, aɛkɛ ndá tí tɛ́nɛ́ só. [64]nzala ahánda zo sí zo atí na hánda. [65]mais yí ɔ́kɔ. [66]tongana zo agá na mɔ, alíngbi mɔ hínga lé tí lo sí. [67]pepɛ, fadé mbéní zo agá na manière, atɛnɛ ní ɛkɛ taá zo tí

[47]He said, "Yes the dog chased away the baboons. [48]But I called him back absolutely to no avail. [49]He didn't come back." [50]Spider said to him, "There, I told you beforehand that he didn't know your command. [51]I said, 'This dog's name is Chase-and-not-return.' [52]But if you do something foolish, he'll stay in the bush."

[53]And so spider said to him, "Just give me my dog." [54]The man tried to delay, but there wasn't any way. [55]There just wasn't any way. [56]And the man said to his wife, "You pack my belongings now." [57]When the man had gone out, they hurried and he ran away completely with his wife. [58]And so spider went and sat at the edge of this field of food, in his place, and ate. [59]This was the end of the famine, like that.

[60]But you'll see in the book of Matthew, in chapter seven. [61]The verse is fifteen, through to the end of sixteen. [62]It says, "If someone tries to approach you, it's good for you to know his liver first, because there are many false prophets." [63]And so, that's the end of the story. [64]Hunger (or lust) tricks men so that men fall into temptation. [65]Just one more thing. [66]When a man approaches you, you must know his face. [67]If not, some man will come with guile, saying he is a real man of God. [68]He will deceive

Nzapá. [68]lo hánda mɔ jusqu'à, mɔ girísa royaume tí mɔ, na ndo tí nzoní kóé tí Nzapá.

you until you lose your kingdom in the wonderful place of God.

The Young Man, the Young Girls, and the Old Woman (F7)

[1]kózo ní ábabá tí áni atenɛ na áni. [2]mbéní pendere kɔ́li ɔ́kɔ, éré tí lo Serekunga. [3]lo ɛkɛ na ndúzú, na lo gá na sése, na lo ɛkɛ na mbéní ndo. [4]áwále kóé, ade ahínga éré tí lo pɛpɛ. [5]tongasó, tongana lo to kɔa na mbéní kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́, ála kóé, áwále kóé, asára kóbe míngi míngi, ála goe. [6]tongana agoe sí ká awe, bon, lo lóndó, atenɛ, tongana zo só adé éré tí mbi, fadé mbi tɛ kóbe tí lo. [7]mais tongana zo só adé éré tí mbi pɛpɛ, mbi tɛ kóbe tí lo apɛ. [8]tongasó, áwále só agá, ála éré lo gí Serekunga. [9]ála hínga taá éré tí lo pɛpɛ. [10]tongasó, lo kɛ̨ kóbe tí ála. [11]na só ahǫ́. [12]lo kɛ̨ kóbe tí ála, na só ahǫ́. [13]na lo kɛ̨ kóbe tí ála, na só ahǫ́, jusqu'à.

[14]mbéní vieille wále. [15]tɛ́rɛ́ tí lo kóé aɛkɛ gí sioní míngi. [16]alíngbi zo a-touché pɛpɛ. [17]na tɛ́rɛ́ tí lo kóé aɛkɛ na yí tí yá tí ngú só, só aɛkɛ dɔngɔ́ yɔngɔ́rɔ tongana tɛ́rɛ́ tí susu. [18]na lo vɛní ahínga éré tí pendere kɔ́li só. [19]na áwále míngi akɛ hǫ́. [20]tongasó, tongana wále só

[1]Formerly our fathers told us (a story). [2]There was a certain young man, whose name was Serekunga. [3]He was in heaven, and he came to earth, and he was in various places. [4]All of the women (i.e. girls) didn't know his name yet. [5]So, when he sent word to a certain village, they all, all the girls, made a huge quantity of food, and went. [6]When they had gone and arrived there, well, he arose and said, "If anyone can say my name, I'll eat her food. [7]But, if someone doesn't say my name, I'll not eat her food." [8]And so those girls who came, they just called him Serekunga. [9]They didn't know his real name. [10]And so he refused their food. [11]And these passed on. [12]He refused their food, and these passed on. [13]And he refused their food, and these passed on, (it went on like this) for quite a while.

[14](There was) a certain old woman. [15]Her whole body was very awful. [16]People didn't dare touch it. [17]Her whole body was covered with that stuff from out of the water which is very slimy like the bodies of (scaleless) fish. [18]Now she herself knew the name of this young man. [19]And so many girls passed. [20]And

aɛkɛ sukúla ngú, le ɛ́rɛ́ ála. [21] atɛnɛ, gá áta. [22]gá kpaka pɛkɔ́ tí mbi. [23]na lo kę. [24]mbi yí pepɛ. [25]mɔ ɛkɛ saletɛ́ míngi. [26]na ála hǫ̂. [27]ála hǫ̂, jusqu'à.

[28]mbéní mɛ́rɛngɛ́ wále, lo gá na pɛkɔ́ ní. [29]lɛ́ tí lo kóɛ́ ambɔ́kɔ awe. [30]na lo tɛnɛ, áta, mɔ gá mɔ kpaka tɛ́rɛ́ tí mbi. [31]na ndá ní, mɛ́rɛngɛ́ wále só agá. [32]lo tɛnɛ, lo mú pɔ́rɔ́ tí kalá só, mɔ kpaka tɛ́rɛ́ tí mbi na ní. [33]na lo tɛnɛ, non, áta fadé mbi sára agá ká. [34]na lo kę. [35]tongasó, lo kpaka pɛkɔ́ tí mbakɔ́rɔ wále só ngbii kóɛ́ awe, eh bien, lo sukúla tɛ́rɛ́ tí wále só kóɛ́ awe, na ápendere wále só míngi míngi, ála sára kóbe, ahǫ̂ na pɛkɔ́ tí pendere kɔ́li ɛó.

[36]na ndá ní, tongana, mbakɔ́rɔ wále só, afa ɛ́rɛ́ tí kɔ́li só na mɛ́rɛngɛ́ wále só awe, na ndá ní, lo tɛnɛ, tongana mɔ sí ká, tongana ála kɛ húnda, mɔ dutí kpó jusqu'à fadé ála tɛnɛ, Serekunga. [37]eh bien, fadé mɔ má ɛ́rɛ́ tí lo. [38]tongasó, fadé lo tɛ kóbe tí mɔ. [39]na ndá ní, tongana lo sí ká awe, eh bien, áwále só kóɛ́, agá así. [40]na ndá ní, lo dutí ká. [41]ló sí ká awe. [42]na ńdá ní lo dútí ká, ná mbéní só

so, as this woman was washing, she called them. [21]She said, "Come, grandchild. [22]Come scratch my back." [23]But she refused. [24]"I don't want to. [25]You're very dirty." [26]And so they passed on. [27]They passed on for a long time.

[28]A certain girl came afterwards. [29]Her face was all ulcerated. [30]And she (i.e. the old woman) said, "Grandchild, come scratch my back." [31]Then this girl came. [32]She (i.e. the old woman) said, "Take this snail shell and scratch my back with it." [33]But she (i.e. the girl) said, "No, grandmother, if I do, I'll make it into a sore." [34]*And she refused.* [35]*So*, when she had scratched the back of this old woman for a long time, and it was all done, then she washed this old woman all over, but all those many many young girls who had made food, they had passed on after that young man.

[36]Afterwards, when the old woman had told the name of this man to this girl, afterwards, she said, "When you get there, when they ask, be quiet until they say, 'Serekunga.' [37]Then you will hear his name. [38]And so then he will eat your food." [39]Afterwards, when she got there, all those girls came and arrived. [40]Afterwards, she sat there. [41]She arrived there. [42]Afterwards, as she sat there, another one came, and said his name. [43]He didn't

agá, adé éré tí lo. [43]lo yí da pepɛ lo hɔ̨̂. [44]adé éré tí lo. [45]lo yí da apɛ, ahɔ̨̂. [46]jusqu'à.

[47]mɛ́rɛngɛ́ wále só, lé tí lo ambɔ̨́kɔ awe só, lo gá. [48]na ndá ní, lo gá lo dé éré tí lo. [49]na ála só, [a]tí na sése. [50]ázo tí pendere míngi, ála tí na sése. [51]atɛnɛ, tongana mbi, só mbi ɛkɛ pendere míngi, mbi dé éré tí lo. [52]mais mɔ só, só lé tí mɔ ambɔ́kɔ kóé, mɔ dé éré tí lo ngbangatí yɛ̨. [53]allé, ála só kóé alóndó na vundú. [54]na mɛ́rɛngɛ́ wále só angbá na tɛ́rɛ́ tí lo ndo só.

[55]eh bien ndá ní, kótá mamá só, angbá na pɛkɔ́ tí lo, amú mɛ́rɛngɛ́ wále só, amú kótá ta, afáa yąma tí lo ngbii, azía lo na yá ní. [56]na ndá ní akpɔrɔ lo, jusqu'à. [57]lo kpɔrɔ na yá tí ta só ngbii. [58]kása tí lo kóé aɛkɛ na yá tí ta só. [59]ndá ní lo kpɔrɔ ngbii. [60]allé, lo sí gígí, lo tí na sése. [61]allé, lo gá pendere wále awe.

[62]tongasó, aɛkɛ mbéní terɛ só, kótará tí áni afa na áni. [63]mais, tongana áni goe na pɛkɔ́ tí tɛ́nɛ́ tí Nzapá yɔngɔ́rɔ míngi, áni girísa ámbéní tɛ́nɛ́ ní awe.

respond, and she passed on. [44]They said his name. [45]As he didn't respond, they passed on. [46](This went on) a long time.

[47]This girl whose face was all ulcerated, she came. [48]Afterwards, she came and said his name. [49]And they all fell to the ground. [50]The very beautiful ones, (i.e. the girls) they fell to the ground. [51]They said, "If only I, who am very beautiful, had named him! [52]But you, whose face is all ulcerated, why did you say his name?" [53]Immediately, they all left in resentment. [54]And this girl remained there beside him.

[55]Well then afterwards, this old mother, who had remained behind her, took the girl, she took a large pot, and she cut up her flesh and put her in. [56]Then she boiled her for a while. [57]She boiled inside the pot for a while. [58]Her juice was also inside the pot. [59]Then she continued boiling. [60]Suddenly, she emerged, and she fell to the ground. [61]Suddenly, she had become a beautiful girl.

[62]And so, this is a fable which our ancestors told us. [63]But when we've followed the word of God for a long time, we've forgotten some of these things.

Building an Airfield and Hunting Elephants (I55)

(...) [1]só, í commencé kɔa tí terrain só, mbi de mérɛngɛ́ míngi apɛ. [2]í commencé kɔa tí terrain ní na cinquante-huit. [3]bon, ázo ní, mbunzú ní agá ndő só tí lɛkɛ terrain ní, alɛkɛ jusqu'à ngbii. [4]terrain ní a-diminué awe, mbunzú alɔ́ndó tí goe na Bangassou. [5]et puis í wara nginza ní, ngbangatí só í lɛkɛ terrain. [6]tí fadesó, terrain ní ahúnzi awe, í kɛ báa nginza encore. [7]tongasó, í wara nginza ní kózo ní na kɔa tí terrain. [8]et puis fadesó, í ngbá tí débrouillé tí fáa gí ndembú, tí gí gí áwótoro, tí wara na nginza.

[9]mais fadesó, í ngbá séngé awe. [10]ambunzú tí Bangui ní, ála gá mú na mbi nginza. [11]et puis, nginza tí Bangui ní, par jour tí ála aɛkɛ ndé, tí í aɛkɛ ndo só ndé. [12]mais í kɛ wara tí í nginza míngi míngi tongana ázo tí Bangui apɛ. [13]mais ní laá Bangui ayɔ míngi. [14]mbi só, mbi ɛkɛ mará tí Zande, mbi ɛkɛ na droit títɛnɛ, mbi goe mbi báa Bangui apɛ. [15]tongana mbi wara service sí mbi goe na Bangui. [16]mais só, mbi dutí tí mbi ndo só tí lángó ndo só jusqu'à, na lá tí kɔ́á tí mbi, ngbangatí, mbi ɛkɛ na

[1]When we began work on the airfield, I wasn't too young. [2]We began work on the airfield in fifty-eight. [3]Well, the people, the White Man came here to make the airfield, and they worked on it for a long time. [4]When the field was completed, the White Man left to go to Bangassou. [5]Then we got the money, because we built the field. [6]Right now the field is finished, but we're still seeing the money. [7]So we received the money at first from the work on the airfield. [8]Now we're still making out, cutting rubber, and hunting bees, to get money.

[9]But now we remain (lit. we have remained) out of work. [10]White Men from Bangui came and gave me money. [11]And money in Bangui, their daily wage, is different, and ours here is different. [12]But as for us, we don't get a whole lot of money like the people of Bangui. [13]But the thing of it is, Bangui is so far away. [14]I here, who am of the Zande tribe, I don't have the occasion to go to see Bangui. [15]If I get a job, then I'll go to Bangui. [16]This way, I'll remain here to live here for a long time, until the day of my death, because I don't have any job to go do in Bangui.

mbéní kɔa, títenɛ, mbi goe na Bangui tí sára apɛ. [17]mbi ɛkɛ na nginzá títenɛ, mbi goe na Bangui, mbi tɛ yí na yángá ní apɛ. (...)	[17]I don't have any money to go to Bangui and eat with it. (Translation uncertain.)
[18]l'heure ní só mbi de mɛ́rɛngɛ́, í goe na ámbunzú tí dole. (...) [19]í lóndó na ndo só na ámbunzú. [20]mɔ báa kótá caisse tongasó. [21]caisse ní anɛ. [22]mbi yɔ́ caisse ní gbá. [23]akara mbi na yá tí ngonda. [24]ámbunzú ní atenɛ, voilà í goe fáa lɛ́ge só ká. [25]lɛ́ge tí só angɔ́rɔ na ... tí Zima. [26]et puis, mbi ngbá. [27]ámbunzú, atenɛ, tongana í goe sí ká apɛ. [28]et puis ála fáa lɛ́ge ní awe, ála kɛ kírí tí ála ká, tí goe. [29]mais mbi, mbi kɛ ngbá tí mbi na yá tí ngonda. [30]mbi pensé tɛ́nɛ́ ní gbá. [31]mbi pensé tɛ́nɛ́ ní gbá.	[18]When I was still a child, we went with some elephant hunters. [19]We left here with the White Men. [20]You should have seen the huge crate, like this (making gesture). [21]The crate was very heavy. [22]I tried in vain to carry the crate. [23]It was too much for me in the bush. [24]The White Men said, "Look, we're going to cross that path over there. [25]The path which goes around ... of Zima." [26]So I stayed. [27]The White Men said, "When we're gone, don't go there." [28]And then when they had crossed the path, they were returning over there to go away. [29]But I, I stayed in the bush. [30]I puzzled over it in vain. [31]I puzzled over it in vain.
[32]et puis, ámbunzú, í goe sí awe só, mbéní mbunzú, agoe píka, apíka yí so, cochon. [33]lo píka na pistolet. [34]et puis, í zɔ́ lo gí na ndó tí wá tongasó ngbii. [35]í mɛnɛ lo kɔ́ɛ́.	[32]And then the White Men we had gone with, this other White Man went and shot a what-you-call-it, a wild pig. [33]He shot it with a pistol. [34]And then we roasted it over a fire like that for a while. [35]We ate it all up.
[36]et puis, í commencé títenɛ í fɔnɔ encore, ngbangatí gí dole. [37]í goe. [38]mbéní kótá ngú só, ngú tí bac, í goe fáa na devant ká. [39]et puis, í ngɔ́rɔ ngbii. [40]í goe	[36]And then we began to hike around again, to hunt elephants. [37]We went on. [38]We crossed over a large river, the river(where there is) a ferry, over there in front. [39]And then we continued to

wara ádole. [41]í tomba pɛkɔ́ tí ála ngbii, ála kpé awe. [42]et puis, í goe jusqu'à, í fáa mbénɩ́ ngú, í goe wara ángbáa. [43]ángbáa atomba í. [44]báa kótá caisse só mbi bi na sése. [45]mbi monté na ndúzú. [46]mbi goe, mbi dutí ká. [47]ábágara ní agá tí kpé na gbɛ́ tí mbi ge. [48]et puis mbi kírí encore na sése. [49]mbi mú caisse ní, mbi goe na pɛkɔ́ tí ámbunzú ní.

[50]í goe jusqu'à. [51]ámbunzú ní agoe wara dole. [52]dole ní akpé kpéngó. [53]í fáa ngú encore. [54]í na ála, í fáa ngú kóé. [55]jusqu'à, í goe í wara place tí lángó, í lángó da, jusqu'à. [56]na lá kúí, lá tongasó, í na ámbunzú, í goe. [57]í yí tí báa ndo, dole ní akɛ tambéla tongasó na lá kúí, jusqu'à, ali na yá tí gbakó ní. [58]mbunzú akpé agoe doucement, apíka lo. [59]mauser óse, dole aɛkɛ na sése. [60]et puis, í ɛkɛ na moyen títɛnɛ, í fáa dole ní, tí goe na ní, aɛkɛ apɛ. [61]jusqu'à, í commencé títɛnɛ, í dɔrɔkɔ dole ní, tí fáa, súru yá tí lo só, zía mbénɩ́ yąma ní na mbáge, zía mbénɩ́ yąma ní na mbáge. [62]í partagé áyá ní kóé, í bi na ngonda. [63]zía mbénɩ́ na wá, í kɛ tɛ. [64]kóngbá tí mbunzú ní ahɔ̨ ndó ní. [65]í ɛkɛ na moyen títɛnɛ, í mú yąma

walk in a circle. [40]We went and found elephants. [41]We followed them for a while, until they had run away. [42]Then we went on for a while, and crossed another river, and went and found buffalo. [43]The buffalo chased us. [44]Look, that huge crate, I just threw it on the ground. [45]I climbed high. [46]I went and sat there. [47]The buffalo came and ran under me there. [48]Then I came back to the ground again. [49]I picked up the crate, and I followed the White Men.

[50]We went on for a while. [51]The White Men went and found an elephant. [52]The elephant ran away. [53]We crossed the river again. [54]We all crossed the river. [55]After a while, we went and found a place to lie down, and we lay down there for a while. [56]In the evening, when the sun was like this (making gesture), the White Men and I went away. [57]In just a little while, the elephant was walking like this in the evening, for a while, and then entered into the gallery forest. [58]The White Man ran up quietly and shot it. [59]Two rifle shots, and the elephant was on the ground. [60]Then we had no way, after killing the elephant, to carry it away. [61]After a while, we began to butcher the elephant, to cut it, to split its belly, to put some meat on one side, to put some meat on the other side. [62]We divided out all the insides, and threw them into the bush. [63]We put some

ní encore títɛnɛ, tí yɔ́ na ndó tí caisse só aɛkɛ apɛ.

on the fire and ate it. [64]The White Men's load was extremely heavy. [65]There just wasn't any way of taking the meat as well, to carry it in addition to the crate.

Personal Greetings (L3)

[1]mbi bara ** ála na á-famille kóé. [2]kótá nouvelle só mɔ tɛnɛ, tɛ́nɛ́ ní así na Bellevue kózo, sí mbi má tí mbi pɛpɛ. [3]mbi má gí na yángá tí mbéní zo tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́. [4]mais mbi má kóé ** pɛpɛ. [5]í pensé í tɛnɛ mɔ gá títɛnɛ mɔ ngbá, sí mɔ yí tí kírí só. [6]fadé mɔ sára bɛ́ nzoní na síngó tí mɔ na sése tí RCA, sí fadé mbi wara lége tí báa mɔ. [7]tɛnɛtí nzala tí mɔ aɛkɛ fáa mbi. [8]tongana mbi wara réponse pɛpɛ na ámbɛ́tí kóé só mbi to na mɔ, mbi pensé, mbi tɛnɛ, hínga pɛpɛ, á-postier asúru na lége. [9]mais il faut mɔ to na mbi réponse vite ngá. [10]síngó tí mɔ na Dakar, fadé mɔ gí lége tí sí na camp tí á-militaire, sí mɔ húnda tɛnɛtí Jean. [11]mais mbi hínga zo ká títɛnɛ, mbi to éré tí lo pɛpɛ. [12]mbi ɛkɛ sára lá kóé bɛ́ ɔ́kɔ na Jésus. [13]tɛnɛ na mbi kózo, sí fadé mbi báa mɔ tongana mɔ sí ánde na Bangui. [14]église tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ abara ** ála. [15]á-famille tí mbi abara ála.

[1]I greet you and all your family. [2]The big news of which you spoke had reached Bellevue first, so that I didn't hear it. [3]I heard it only through a certain person of the village. [4]But I didn't hear it all. [5]We thought you were coming to stay, but you were going to return. [6]You will be kind upon your arrival in the land of the Central African Republic, so that I may have a way of seeing you. [7]Because hunger for you is killing me. [8]When I didn't receive answers to all the letters which I sent you, I thought, "Who knows? perhaps the postal clerks tore them up on the way." [9]But you must send me an answer quickly. [10]Upon your arrival in Dakar, try to get to the military camp, so as to ask about Jean. [11]But I don't know anyone whose name I could send you. [12]I'm still communing every day with Jesus. [13]Let me know beforehand, so that I can see you when you arrive later on in Bangui. [14]The church in the village greets you. [15]My family greets you.

Buying and Selling in the Market (N78)

[1]áwále tí Bangui, ámbéní, ázo tí kángó á-salade, na ázo tí kángó café, na ázo tí goe tí vɔ́ngó áyí tí kángó yí tí ála na ndápéréré. [2]ála kɛ goe. [3]mbéní akɛ goe na cinq heures et demie. [4]ámbéní akɛ goe na six heures. [5]ála goe, ála vɔ yí tí ála. [6]ála kɛ ká ní. [7]et puis ázo só adutí na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́, ála dutí. [8]ála sukúla ngú awe, ála lóndó na sept heures. [9]ála goe tí vɔ́ngó kóbe ní. [10]ámbéní avɔ, ámbéní akɛ gá. [11]ámbéní akɛ goe na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́. [12]tongana ála goe awe, ázo tí kángó yí, ála ngbá tí ála. [13] tongana agá, sí na onze heures et demie awe, ála úlu yí awe, ázo kóé agoe na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́.

[14]áwále tí Bangui, tongana ála goe na marché awe, ámbéní avɔ kárákó. [15]ázo tí vɔ́ngó makala na mápa, ámbéní agá tí yɔ̨́ na café. [16]ámbéní ayɔ̨́ na du thé. [17]tongana í zía lait da awe, aɛkɛ páta óse. [18]ála kɛ yɔ̨́ na ní. [19]tongana ála yɔ̨́ kóé awe, ála lóndó agoe. [20]ála goe mú kóngbá tí ála. [21]ála goe na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́, tí goe tí tɔ́ngó kóbe na kɔ́li tí ála tí tɛ́ngó ní na midi.

[1]The women of Bangui, some are sellers of lettuce, and sellers of coffee, and some are buyers of their wares in the morning. [2]They go. [3]Some go at five thirty. [4]Some go at six o'clock. [5]They go and buy their things. [6]They sell their things. [7]And then, those people who remain in the village, they just remain. [8]When they have washed up, they leave at seven. [9]They go to buy the food. [10]While some buy, others are coming. [11]Others are returning to the village. [12]When they have gone, the sellers, they remain. [13]When eleven thirty has fully come, and they have blown the thing (i.e. the siren), everyone returns to the village.

[14]The women of Bangui, when they have gone to the market, some buy peanuts. [15]The people who buy fritters and bread, some come to drink coffee with these. [16]Some drink tea with them. [17]When we put milk in it, it's ten francs. [18]They drink it with them (i.e. the bread or fritters). [19]When they have finished drinking, they get up and leave. [20]They pick up their goods. [21]They go to the village, to go prepare food for their husbands to eat at noon.

Childhood Experiences (N8o)

[1]mbéní lá, mamá tí mbi atenɛ, ní yí tí goe na Bossangoa. [2]mbi tenɛ, mamá mbi yí tí goe na mɔ títenɛ mbi báa kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi. [3]í na mamá, í gá, í goe. [4]mamá amú mbi. [5]mbi ngbá kété kété. [6]mbi de títenɛ, mbi gá wále apɛ. [7]mbi goe.

[8]mbi goe mbi sí na kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí Bossangoa ní. [9]mbi goe mbi toto mbi tenɛ mbi yí apɛ. [10]mbi yí tí kírí na Bangui. [11]kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ ní aɛkɛ nzoní apɛ. [12]mbi de tí hínga áíta tí mbi mέrɛngέ ká apɛ. [13]mbi yí tí kírí kíríngó. [14]mamá atenɛ mɔ toto apɛ. [15]mɔ lángó. [16]fadé mɔ na aú tí mɔ, mɔ sára ngiá. [17]mbi kɛ̨. [18]mbi mú lége, mbi kpé, mbi goe na babá tí mbi, na mbáge tí ngú ká. [19]mbi goe mbi dutí na lo. [20] mbi wara íta tí mbi tí wále, na íta tí mbi tí kɔ́li. [21]mbi sára ngiá na ála. [22]mbi lángó gí ká. [23]mbi kɛ̨ place tí mamá tí mbi. [24] mbi yí tí goe na lo encore apɛ. [25]mbi lángó na ábabá tí mbi.

[26]tongasó, mbi goe ngbangatí malade tí aú tí mbi. [27]tέrέ tí lo asɔ míngi. [28]lo yí tí kúí. [29]mamá tí mbi agá tí goe. [30]atenɛ, mέrέngέ tí mbi, gá í goe. [31]mɔ báa aú tí mɔ. [32]lo yí tí kúí. [33]gá mɔ

[1]One day, my mother said, "I want to go to Bossangoa." [2]I said, "Mother, I want to go with you, so as to see my village." [3]Mother and I up and went. [4]Mother took me. [5]I was still very small. [6]I still had not become a woman. [7]I went.

[8]I went and arrived in the town of Bossangoa. [9]I went and cried and said, "I don't like it! [10]I want to go back to Bangui. [11]This town is no good. [12]I don't know any of my child relatives here. [13]I want to go back!" [14]Mother said, "Don't cry. [15]Go to sleep. [16]You and your uncle, you'll have fun." [17]I refused. [18]I took off and ran away, and I went to my father, over there by the river. [19]I went and lived with him. [20]I found my sister and my brother. [21]I played with them. [22]I lived there. [23]I rejected my mother's place (i.e. her home town). [24]I didn't want to go with her any more. [25]I lived with my father's family.

[26]So then I went on account of my uncle's illness. [27]His body hurt very much. [28]He was about to die. [29]My mother went to go. [30]She said, "My child, let's go. [31]You'll see your uncle. [32]He's about to die. [33]Come, let's go, you'll see

goe, mɔ báa lo. [34]tongasó, mbi kɛ̨ lo pepɛ. [35]mbi lóndó na mamá. [36]í na lo í goe. [37]í goe í lángó ká.

[38]tongana aú tí mbi akúí awe, í mú lége í kírí. [39]í gá í sí na marché. [40]mbi lángó na mbáge tí mamá tí mbi ká. [41]mbi yí tí gá na marché. [42]ámɛ́rengɛ́ tí wále tí Bossangoa, ála gí yángá tí mbi. [43]ála zonga mbi. [44]mbi sára tɛ́nɛ́ pepɛ. [45]mbi hɔ̨̂ yí tí mbi hɔ̨̂ngó. [46]mbi hé ngiá. [47]ála mú tɛ́mɛ́, ála bi na mbi. [48]mbi hɔ̨̂ hɔ̨̂ngó. [49]mbi goe, mbi sí na marché. [50]ála tenɛ o, bɔngɔ́ tí mɔ atoto míngi. [51]mɔ kɛ tambéla tongana yɛ̨, sí bɔngɔ́ tí mɔ atoto. [52]mbi hɔ̨̂ tí mbi hɔ̨̂ngó. [53]fadesó mbi gá mbi vɔ yí na marché. [54]mbi kírí. [55]tongana l'heure tí kíríngó alíngbi awe, í gá í lángó. [56]mbéní autocar agá. [57]í gá í mú lége, í gá na Bangui.

[58]tongasó, bɛ́ tí mbi aekɛ nzoní títenɛ, mbi kírí yí tí mbi na Bangui, títenɛ mbi dutí da. [59]tenɛtí ndo ní ká só, ade títenɛ, anzerɛ na bɛ́ tí mbi apɛ. [60]aekɛ kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi mais, ade títenɛ, ahínga mbi títenɛ, mbi dutí ká apɛ. [61]sí mbi gá na Bangui awe, bɛ́ tí mbi agá nzoní. [62]mbi gá, mbi dutí. [63]fadesó, mbi de títenɛ, mbi báa kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí mbi ní encore apɛ. [64]

him." [34]So I didn't refuse her. [35]I left with Mother. [36]She and I went. [37]We went and stayed there.

[38]When my uncle had died, we took to the road and returned. [39]We came and arrived at a market. [40]I stayed with my mother's family there. [41]I wanted to go to the market. [42]The girls of Bossangoa, they teased me. [43]They cursed me. [44]I didn't say a word. [45]I just went on my way. [46]I laughed. [47]They took stones and threw them at me. [48]I went on my way. [49]I went and arrived at the market. [50]They said, "Oh, your dress is making a lot of noise. [51]How are you walking, so that your dress is making noise?" [52]I just went on my way. [53]Now I arrived and bought something at the market. [54]I returned. [55]When it was time to go back, we came and stayed. [56]A bus came. [57]We took to the road and returned to Bangui.

[58]And so my liver was glad because I had come back to Bangui, to live there. [59]Because that place over there doesn't please me. [60]It's my village, but it didn't appeal to me, and I don't want to live there. [61]So when I had come to Bangui, I was happy again. [62]I came, and I stayed. [63]Now I don't intend to see my village any more. [64]I've forgotten it. [65]Because I went as a very small (child). [66]If I should go now, I

agirísa mbi awe. [65]ngbangatí mbi goe kété kété. [66]tongana mbi goe fadesó, fadé mbi hínga ndo mais, mbi kɛ hínga ndo encore mbírímbírí pɛpɛ.

would know the place, but I don't know the place very well any more.

The Liver Fluke Disease (R4a)

[1]ndo só lá só na ndápéréré só, mbi wara mbɛ́tí tí madame ... Dannzapa na l'hôpital tí Bria. [2]lo tenɛ, ní húnda í ngbangatí só mbéní yí akɛ sɔ bɛ́ tí ní míngi. [3]ní ɛkɛ na kobéla só éré ní bilharzie. [4]mbéní ákété kété yą̧ma só. [5]mɔ hínga éré ní apɛ? [6]ɛ̨ɛ̨, bilharzie. [7]bon, fadesó, bilharzie ní akɛ sɔ ní míngi. [8]ní báa ní tenɛ, akɔ́li kóé akɛ wara bilharzie. [9]wále kóé awara bilharzie. [10]mais bilharzie ní tí wále akɛ sɔ ála ahɔ̨ ndó ní. [11]et puis, míngi tí ázo só ngá akɛ wara bilharzie gí wále. [12]mais só tongana yɛ̨, sí tí ákɔ́li akɛ sɔ ála míngi pɛpɛ. [13]gí tí áwále laá asɔ ála míngi só. [14]ní laá, sí lo tenɛ, ní húnda ndá ní mbírímbírí ngbangatí só, na l'hôpital tí Bria, lo goe lo sí ká. [15]docteur azía lo na l'hôpital atenɛ, lo lángó ká, sí fadé ála kái na kobéla tí lo ní.

[16]lo lángó ká, lo húnda ámbéní áwále sí aeke na tɛ́rɛ́ tí lo aussi, ámbéní wále otá. [17]áwále ní atenɛ,

[1]Right here this morning, I've received a letter from Mrs. Dannzapa in the Hospital at Bria. [2]She says, "I'm asking you because something is hurting my liver greatly. [3]I have the disease called liver flukes. [4]It is certain very small animals." ([5]Do you know the name of it? [6]--That's right, liver flukes.) [7]"Well now, the liver flukes are hurting me very much. [8]I thought that men also got liver flukes. [9]Women also got liver flukes. [10]But the liver flukes of women hurt them much more. [11]And then, many of those also who get liver flukes are just women. [12]Now how is this, that men's don't hurt them very much? [13]It's only women's that hurt them so much." [14]That's why she says, "I'm asking for the right explanation, because in the hospital at Bria, I went and arrived there. [15]The doctor put me in the hospital and said I should stay there, until they cured me of my sickness.

[16]Staying there, I asked some other women who were near me also, three other women. [17]These other women said,

o ála kóé gí na kobéla tí bilharzie.
[18]sí ní tɛnɛ comment. [19]ní
báa mbéní kɔ́li só ála zía lo ge na
l'hôpital ngbangatí bilharzie apɛ,
sí (...) gí áwále sí azía ála na
kobéla tí bilharzie ngbangatí yę.

[20]oui, Albert, mɔ hínga, kobéla tí
bilharzie só, fadesó na yá tí
kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ tí République Centrafricaine,
d'abord í kɛ sára tɛ́nɛ́ só míngi,
que kobéla tí bilharzie aɛkɛ míngi.
[21]service des grandes endémies
aɛkɛ na proposition, aɛkɛ na projet,
aɛkɛ tambéla ánde na yá tí
kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ só kóé, títɛnɛ asára mbéní
campagne contre bilharzie, parce
que í báa que bilharzie só, aɛkɛ
mbéní kobéla so aɛkɛ gí lége
títɛnɛ, así na yá tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ míngi
míngi.

[22]tongana wále só, lo tɛnɛ que lo
báa gí na tɛ́rɛ́ tí áwále, aɛkɛ pas
tout-à-fait vrai, parce que ákɔ́li
kóé akɛ mú aussi kobéla tí
bilharzie só. [23]mais peut-être sí
tongana lo báa íta tí lo wále aɛkɛ
na ní míngi, í tɛnɛ lá kóé que
kobéla tí bilharzie só akɛ wara ní
gí na lége tí ngú. [24]tongana mɔ zo,
mɔ goe na yá tí ngú pɛpɛ, mɔ língbi
tí wara kobéla tí bilharzie pɛpɛ.
[25]ngbangatí só, peut-être áwále,
lá kóé na ála goe tí sukúla bɔngɔ́,

'Oh, we all have just liver flukes.'
[18]So I asked, 'How's that?' [19]I don't
see any men who have been put here into
the hospital on account of liver flukes,
so why is it that only women have the
liver fluke disease?"

[20]Certainly, Albert, you know that this
liver fluke disease--now in the Central
African Republic, first of all we've
said this many times, that there is a
great deal of liver fluke disease.
[21]The Service for Great Endemic Diseases
has a proposal, a project, that they
will circulate later on among all the
villages, to launch a campaign against
liver flukes, because we see that this
liver fluke disease is a disease which
is coming into villages a great deal.

[22]When this woman says that she sees
it only in women, that's not entirely
true, because men also get this liver
fluke disease. [23]But perhaps, since
she sees her sisters, the women, have
it a lot, we can always say that the
liver fluke disease is caught only
through water. [24]If you don't go
into the water, you can't catch the
liver fluke disease. [25]Because of
this, perhaps women, always, they go
to wash clothes, or else they go to
leech their manioc in the water, in

na yá tí ngú wala ála goe tí sára ágɔzɔ tí ála na yá tí ngú, na place só ngú akɛ sɔa pɛpɛ. [26]ngú ní asɔa gí na place ɔ́kɔ, aɛkɛ na saleté. [27]ákété kété á-microbe tí bilharzie ní aɛkɛ na yá tí ngú só. [28]ní laá akɛ li na gɛ́rɛ́ tí áwále, tɛnɛtí aɛkɛ na manière tongasó. [29]mais, bilharzie aɛkɛ kobéla só alíngbi tí sára wále, asára kɔ́li, asára mɛ́rɛngɛ́ kóɛ́. [30]aɛkɛ gí ngbangatí ẃále ɔ́kɔ pɛpɛ. [31]mɔ má awe? Albert.

places where the water isn't flowing. [26]When the water flows in only one place, it is dirty. [27]Those little liver fluke germs are in this kind of water. [28]That's why they get into women's legs, because they are tricky like that. [29]But the liver fluke disease is a sickness that can attack women, it attacks men, it attacks children also. [30]It isn't only for women. [31]Do you understand, Albert?

[32]mm, mbi má só awe. [33]mbi pensé madame (...) Dannzapa na l'hôpital tí Bria, lo má só, wángó só mɔ mú na lo na ndápérérɛ́ só awe. [34]fadé bɛ́ tí lo agá na ngiá. [35]í kírí í tɛnɛ mɔ kóɛ́, madame (...) Dannzapa, í wara lége títɛnɛ, í píka na mɔ disque tí mɔ, só mɔ húnda na ndápérérɛ́ só pɛpɛ, ngbangatí, mɔ hínga kóɛ́ wángó tí ndápérérɛ́ aɛkɛ wara ká l'heure míngi míngi sí fadé í língbi títɛnɛ í píka na mɔ disque pɛpɛ.

[32]Yes, I've understood. [33]I think Mrs. Dannzapa in the hospital at Bria has heard this, this advice which you have given her this morning. [34]She will be glad again. [35]Again we tell you also, Mrs. Dannzapa, that we can't find a way of playing for you the record which you asked for this morning, because, as you well know, "Morning Advice" doesn't get a lot of time, so that we can't play a record for you.

Announcing a Show (R7f)

[1]mbi wara ngá mbɛ́tí ge. [2]kɔ́li só akɛ sára magie lá kóɛ́ na yá tí á-bar ɔ́kɔ ɔ́kɔ, ála hínga ngá lo kóɛ́ só, ato kɔa na í mbɛ́tí ge, atɛnɛ lá só, lo kɛ sára kótá matánga na Rex. [3]matánga só ngbangatí só, lá

[1]I've also received a letter here. [2]The man who is always doing magic in each of the bars, you all know him, has sent us a letter here, announcing that today he is putting on a big celebration at the Rex. [3]This celebration is because today

só, lo sára ngú bale otá na ndó ní miombe na ndó tí sése. [4]ní laá, lo ** kɛ sára matánga só lá só na Rex, títɛnɛ, lo ɛkɛ sára pendere á-magie tí lo ní míngi, ngbangatí lá só, lo lángó ngú bale otá na ndó ní miombe, na ndó tí sése só. [5]aɛkɛ lo lángó na ndó tí sése míngi laá. [6]ní laá lo kɛ sára matánga ní lá só. [7]lo tɛnɛ, kɔ́li ayí tí goe, payé-ngó ní tí li na yá ní, páta bale osió. [8]wále agoe tí payé tí li, páta bale óse. [9]lá só na Rex, lo kɛ sára pendere yí míngi. [10]lo húnda na á-client tí lo só, agoe ká tí bángó yí tí lo, só lo kɛ sára ká só, kóé títɛnɛ, ála goe lá só lá só. [11]lo kɛ sára pendere yí míngi, ngbangatí lá só, lo ɛkɛ na ngú bale otá na ndó ní miombe.

he has spent thirty-eight years on the earth. [4]That's why he's having this celebration today, at the Rex, to do a lot of his beautiful magic, because today he has lived thirty-eight years on the earth. [5]It's because he's lived on earth a long while. [6]That's why he's having this celebration today. [7]He says, if men want to enter, the price of admission is two hundred francs. [8]Women will pay for admission one hundred francs. [9]Today at the Rex, he's doing many beautiful things. [10]He asks all his customers to go see all his things which he will be doing there, to go this very day. [11]He'll be doing many beautiful things, because today he is thirty-eight years old.

[12]fadesó, tí í na yángá tí kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ ahúnzi tí lo awe. [13]mbi húnda na ázo tí Bangui kóé, ála kú tanga tí tɛ́nɛ́ kóé, na sept heures et demie, na yángá tí ámbunzú. [14]Plassy Lamine, na Pauline Mbamba abara ála míngi.

[12]Now our (broadcast) in the language of the country is over. [13]I ask all the people of Bangui to wait to hear the rest of the things at seven-thirty, in the language of the White Man. [14]Plassy Lamine and Pauline Mbamba greet you all cordially.

Recipe: Kidneys with Wine (R9a)

[1]áíta tí mbi, í bara ála kóé na dimanche só lá só. [2]ála hínga lá kóé í kɛ zíngo ála gí na musique.

[1]My brothers, we greet you all on this Sunday today. [2]You know that every day we waken you with music. [3]Why (do we

[3]ngbangatí yę. [4]ála kɛ toka mbɛ́tí na í ndo só. [5]na pɛkɔ́ ní, í ɛkɛ sára na ála pɛkɔ́ ní, ála tɛnɛ, ála má pɛpɛ. [6]ndá ní só vení sí í ɛkɛ tɛnɛ, aɛkɛ nzoní í zíngo ála na musique. [7]tongasó ála língbi títɛnɛ ála dutí na tɛ́rɛ́ tí radio tí ála, sí ála má pɛkɔ́ tí mbɛ́tí tí ála só ála húnda na í na ndo só. [8]tongana lá kóé, ála má musique.

[9]tongasó mbéní lá mbi goe tí tɛ encore mbéní mará tí kóbe ní, ála dé éré ní rognon tí yąma, na vin. [10]ála sára ní taá ní na vin na anzɛrɛ míngi. [11]mais mbi yí tí hínga, comment, só ála kɛ sára ** na yí só.

[12]nzoní tongana mɔ yí tí tɔ́ ní na vin só, mɔ goe mɔ vɔ rognon ní na lá kúí. [13]mɔ gá na rognon ní mɔ fáa yá tí rognon ní kóé, mɔ sukúla ní nzoní, mɔ zía na yá tí sɛmbɛ́. [14]mɔ mú l'ail kétɛ́, mɔ fáa l'ail da. [15]mɔ mú vin ní verre ɔ́kɔ, mɔ túku ní da. [16]mɔ zía, alángó na ní. [17]tongana mɔ ɛkɛ na frigidaire, mɔ zía ní da. [18]mais tongana frigidaire aɛkɛ apɛ, mɔ zía ngá na ní tongasó na mbéní place tí dɛ́, alángó. [19]bon, ndá adɛ́, tongana mɔ gá tí tɔ́ngó ní só, mɔ mú ta ní mɔ zía na wá. [20]mɔ zía mafuta da. [21]tongana mafuta ní a-chauffé awe,

say this)? [4]You regularly send letters to us here. [5]Then later on, when we do as you ask, you say you didn't hear it. [6]That's why we say, it's good for us to waken you with music. [7]So you should sit by your radios, to hear the response to your letters (in) which you make requests to us here. [8]As every day, listen to music.

[9]So now one day I went to eat a different kind of food, which they call animal kidneys in wine. [10]They really prepare it with wine, and it's delicious. [11]Now I want to know how they can do this thing.

[12]You should, if you want to cook it with wine, go buy the kidneys in the evening. [13]Take the kidneys and cut them all up, you wash them well, and you put them into a dish. [14]You take a little garlic, and cut up the garlic in it. [15]Take wine, one glassful, and pour it in. [16]Let them sit in it (i.e. the wine). [17]If you have a refrigerator, put it in it. [18]But if you don't have a refrigerator, put it just like that in a cool place, and let it sit. [19]Now, early in the morning, when you go to cook it, take a pot and put it on the fire. [20]Put oil into it. [21]When the oil is hot, cut up onions into it.

mɔ fáa oignon da. [21]mɔ yɔ́rɔ na oignon ní ngbii. [22]tongana mɔ báa (...) oignon ní a-commencé tí be awe, mɔ gá mɔ mú rognon só mɔ zía ní alángó na yá tí vin só mɔ préparé ní na l'ail só. [23]mɔ gá mɔ mú papa tí farine ɔ̃kɔ tongasó, mɔ tourné na ní ngbii. [24]tongana mɔ báa farine ní a-commencé tí be awe, mɔ gá mɔ mú rognon só mɔ préparé ní na vin na l'ail sí alángó, só mɔ gá mɔ túku ní da. [25]eh bien akpɔrɔ na ní fadesó ngbii. [26]tongana mɔ báa, a-collé awe, mɔ mú ní mɔ zía na sése. [27]mɔ zía yíngɔ́ da, mɔ mú ní mɔ zía na sése. [28]aekɛ tongasó vení sí ála kɛ sára rognon tí yạma na vin. [29]tongana mɔ sára tongasó, só mɔ kɛ báa anzerɛ ní míngi. [30]mais attention mɔ zía mbéní vin ndé da apɛ, gí vin só mɔ bata na ní só vení mɔ kɛ tɔ́ na ní. [31]tongana mɔ kɛ zía mbéní vin da encore, kóbe ní akɛ kpí alíngbi títenɛ anzerɛ apɛ.

[21]Fry the onions for a while. [22]When you see that the onions have begun to brown, come take the kidneys which you left sit in the wine, which you prepared with garlic. [23]Come take one spoonful of flour, like this, and stir it in for a while. [24]When you see that the flour has begun to brown, you come and take the kidneys which you prepared with wine and garlic and which sat, and dump them in. [25]Now then it boils together for a while. [26]When you see that it has thickened, you take it and put it aside (lit. on the ground). [27]You put salt into it, and you take it and put it aside. [28]It's like that that they prepare animal kidneys with wine. [29]If you do it like this, you will see that it is delicious. [30]But be careful not to put in any other wine, you should cook it in just the wine in which you kept it. [31]If you put more wine in, the food will be sour and will not be good.

PART FIVE: LEXICONS

Two lexicons are provided in this part of the grammar. The first, chapter 19, is a lexicon of Sango words and bound morphemes. In this list, 475 items whose frequencies are marked occur in the corpus a total of 33,743 times, for an average of over 71 occurrences per morpheme. Ten items occur 900 or more times each: the connectives tí (3055) and na (2602), the subject marker a- (2136), the pronoun mbi (1579), the adjunctive só (1216), the pronoun mɔ (1061), the verb ɛkɛ (1058), the pronouns lo (1006) and ála (904), and the adjunctive ní (900). These words, with a total of 15,517 occurrences, make up over 42 per cent of the running text. A total of 91 words occur only once each. It will be noted that there is a discrepancy between the figures given here and those given in the grammar for a few items. This is because there were two files, the grammar file and the lexical file, and a few slips from the grammar file were apparently lost. Those words in the list which have no frequency are words which were elicited from Mr. Nambozouina or found in other sources in the course of phonological or other investigations.

The second lexicon is a list of the French words occurring in the examples and texts included in the grammar only. No attempt is made here to study the phenomenon of borrowing. The orthography is standard French throughout (with phonemic transcription of the Sango pronunciation if it is current and widely standardized), but the glosses reflect the Sango usage found in the corpus. Many of the nouns are said with the definite article (le, la, l'), either exclusively, as la loi 'the law,' or optionally, as hôpital - l'hôpital 'the hospital.' French numerals are used, especially in citing the time of day, counting sums of money, etc., but are not given in the list. All French items, including numerals, dates, distances, and similar expressions, account for 2,386 occurrences or 6.5 per cent of the corpus. Proper names, names of tribes, nations, and languages, and a few items of other foreign source occur 629 times or 1.9 per cent of the corpus. The frequencies may be summarized in tabular form as follows:

Sango words	33,743	91.6 per cent
French words, all kinds	2,386	6.5
Proper names, etc.	629	1.9
Total	36,858	100.0

In the Sango lexicon, the information given after the entry is to be read as follows: first is the class abbreviation, Aa: ante-noun adjunctive, Ap: post-noun adjunctive, Au: universal adjunctive, Av: verbal adjunctive, C: connective, I: interjection, M: bound morpheme, N: noun, Pa: sentence particle, Pr: pronoun, V: verb. Then comes the frequency, where applicable. What comes after the colon is the gloss or explanation.

Chapter 19

SANGO LEXICON

-A-

á- M 636: noun plural marker
a- M 2132: subject marker
aa I 10: disgust, surprise
adorónu N 2: Hausa salt
ála Pr 904: they, you (pl.)
andáa ~ kandáa C 13: in other words
ánde Av 40: later
ándo Av 7: formerly
áni Pr 90: we
apɛ see pɛpɛ
asa V: to dig with hands
áta N 3: grandparent, grandchild
aú N 12: uncle
awe see we

-B-

bá N 4: oath
ba V: to bend
báa V 208: to see
babá N 51: father
baba N 4: pride
bágara N 2: bovine animal
bákoyá N 5: baboon
bála N 1: camping place
báláwa 1: shea nut
bale N 55: ten
bámará N 1: lion
bángá N: rubber
bara V,N 30: to greet, greeting
báságbó N: land
basánze N 3: rustic, wild
batá N 1: squirrel (non-climbing)
bata V 19: to keep
bé N 3: middle
be V 4: to be ripe
be V: to annoy
bebé N: roofing grass
békpá N: thunder
berá N 6: war
bɛ́ N 95: liver
bí N 4: night
bi V 26: to throw
bíá N 15: song
bíakú Av 2: truly
bíaní Av 27: truly
bingbá Aa 3: red
bíngo N 1: night
bíó N: bone
bírí N 1: yesterday
bíríbiri N: kind of beer
bólo V: to throw stones at
bóndó N: mil
bóngbi V 34: to gather
bozó N: carrying bag
bɔngɔ́ N 38: cloth
búbá Aa 17: foolish
buba V 4: to ruin
búburú N: dumb
bulée N 1: banana
burú N 1: dry season

-B'-

b'anda V 1: to ponder
b'ɔngɔ́ N: hyena

-D-

da N 57: house
da Av 122: there

da (bɛ́) V 1: to remind
dambá N: tail
dára V 1: to sick on (as a dog)
dawóló N 1: a certain dance
dé N 9: cold
dé V 2: to chop
dé V 22: to spit out
de V 54: to remain
dede N: horn of animal
deko N: rat
déma V 2: to carry on agitatedly
dengbe N: small antelope
dénge V 1: to lean to one side
díkɔ V 23: to read
dole N 27: elephant
dɔ́ N: ax
dɔ́ V 13: to shake
dɔ́dɔ́ N 10: a dance
dɔla N 1: moth
dɔngɔbɛ 1: ?
dɔngɔ́ yɔngɔ́rɔ A 1: slimy
dɔrɔkɔ V 2: to butcher
dú N 4: hole
dú V 20: to give birth to
du V 3: to tie
du V 12: to be
duma N 1: honey beer
dutí V 79: to sit

-E-

éré N,V 132: a name, to call
ɛ̧ɛ̧ I 13: sudden understanding
ekɛ - kɛ V 1058: be

-F-

fa V 81: to show
fáa V 102: to cut
fadé Av 187: quickly
fadesó Av 189: now
fɛ̧ N: odor
finí N,Aa 13: life, new
finóo N 2: suffering
fómbá N 1: comrade
fɔndɔ N 2: plantain
fɔnɔ V 5: to wander
fú V 1: to give (food)
fú V: to sew
fų́ V 1: to smell
fúfú N: lung
fúku N: flour
fúlu N: froth
fúru V: to mix
fúta V,N 18: to pay, salary

-G-

gá V 313: to come
galá N 13: market
ganzá N: circumcision
gbá N 1: bunch, bundle
gbá C 1: nevertheless
gbá Av 15: in vain
gba V: to copulate
gba (ngú) V: beat (water)
gbakó N 1: gallery forest
gbándá C 2: later
gbánda N 20: net
gbánza N 1: corn

gbánzi V 1: to prevent
gbara búba N: frying pan
gbɛ́ N 15: bottom part
gbí V 7: to catch fire
gbíá N 1: king
gbikí N 1: perspiration
gbíma ndɔkɔ N: a challenge
gbó V 29: to seize
gbɔ́tɔ V 5: to pull
gbudu N: a spinach-like vegetable
gbugburu V 1: to stir up in disorderly way
ge Av 31: here
genɛ N 2: stranger
gérɛ́ N 15: leg, foot
gí V 51: to seek
gí Au 196: only
gígí N 31: outside
gindí N: bow (weapon)
giriri N 35: formerly
girísa F 20: to lose, forget
goe V 313: go
gólo V: to rap (as on door)
gónda V 7: to praise
gonda N 1: a certain poison
goigói N 3: laziness
gɔ́ N 10: neck, throat
gɔ́á N: birth pains
gɔ́gɔ́á N: buffalo
gɔgɔrɔ N: granary
gɔzɔ N 13: manioc
gugú N: mushroom
gugúrú N: small fish
gúrú N: smoke, steam

-H-

há V: to pull out (as a knife)
há V: to weave
hą́ V 2: to ponder
háa V: to measure
hánda V 16: to entice, deceive
hárága N: a certain liquor
hé V 18: to laugh, sing
hę I 1: seeking agreement
hínga V 127: to know
híɔ Av 9: quickly
hónde V 2: to hide
hɔ̨́ V 59: to pass
hɔ̨́ N: nose
hɔ́tɔ́ N 3: hill
hú V 4: to spread
hú V 2: to breathe
húnda V 67: to ask
húnzi V 20: to make disappear

-I-

í Pr 548: we, us; you (pl.)
ía V,N: to blow (as wind), air
ínɔ N: urine
isɔrɔ́ N 2: tale
ítā N 147: sibling

-K-

ká V 16: to sell
ká Av 100: there
ká N 1: wound, sore
ka C 16: if
ka 1: ?
kái V 9: to hush

kái N: paddle
kaká N 1: grandparent
kalá N 1: snail
kamáta V 14: to take
kámba N 20: cord
kaméla N 11: shame
kandáa see andáa
kángá N: hartebeest
kánga V,N 24: to shut, prison
kángba N: old man
kángbi V 2: to separate
kangú N: gourd
kanguya N 1: palm wine
kara V 1: to frustrate, overcome
kárákó N 18: peanut
kása N 1: sauce
katá N: lizard
kate N 4: chest
kawai N 1: kind of squash
ké (lé) V: to blink
kéké N 20: tree, wood
kékéréke N 3: tomorrow
kéngé N: penis
kété Aa 95: small
kɛ see ɛkɛ
kɛ̨ V 25: to refuse
kíi N 2: thorn
kinda V 2: to knock down
kírí V 84: to return
kíríkiri Ap 7: crooked
kísi N: beads
kíté N 1: objection
kó V 1: to germinate
ko V 4: to alight
kóbe N 79: food
kobéla N 52: sickness
kóé Ap 400: all, entirely
kógará N: father-in-law
kólo N: giraffe
kolóngo N 1: basin
kombá N: guinea fowl
kóngbá N 17: load, possessions
kóngo N: mallet
kóri N: cushion
korogbó N: scrotum
kóróngó N: fan palm
kóso V: to drag
kótá Aa 67: big
kótará N 10: ancestor
kózo Aa 54: first
kɔ́ V: to pluck
kɔ́á N 1: hair
kɔ́á N 17: dead body
kɔa N 135: work
kɔa N 7: message
kɔ́dá N: debt
kɔkɔ N 11: a certain kind of edible leaves
kɔkɔra N 1: arrow
kɔ́lī N 115: man, male animal
kɔ́ndɔ N 2: chicken
kɔ́ngba N: frog
kɔ́ngɔ́ N: rainbow
kɔ́ngɔ́ N 1: shout
kɔnɔ́ N: hippopotamus
kɔnɔ V 15: to be big
kɔ́rɔ́ N: cold (disease)
kɔ́rɔ V: to pierce
kɔ́sɔ́ N 4: kind of edible cucurbit
kɔtɔ V 3: to scratch

kɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ N 205: village
kɔ́ya N 2: child of mother's brother
kpa V 2: to resemble
kpáá Av: out of the blue
kpaka V 5: to scrape
kpé V 36: to run
kpí V 1: to be sour
kpí N 10: paste (as of peanuts)
kpíngba V 4: to be hard
kpíkara N 17: human-like legendary character
kpítíkpítí Av: dark black
kpó Av 6: quiet
kpókpó N: pipe (for smoking)
kpoto N 1: hat
kpɔ V 7: to pierce
kpɔ́ka N 3: hoe
kpɔrɔ V 10: to boil
kpu N 11: mortar for grinding food
kú V 18: to wait
kugbé N 3: leaf
kúí V, N 36: to die, death, dead body of animal
kulá N: vengeance
kúma N: python
kunde N: guitar
kúngbi V: to smash up
kúrú V: to be dry
kusára N 56: work
kutu N: thousand
kutukutu N 2: automobile

-L-

lá N 198: sun, day
laá Pa 106: right there
lando N: grassy plain
lángó V,N 68: to sleep, sleep, day
lavú N: bee
lé N 43: eye, face
lé N 5: glowing coal
lé N,V 2: fruit,seed, to bear fruit
lége N 151: road
lekpa N: small antelope
lele N: small animal
lélé N: donkey
lenda V: to enter
lengé N 13: a certain dance
lenge N: necklace
lẹkẹ V 45: to prepare, repair
li V 7: to enter
li N 45: head
likongó N 6: spear
língbi V 165: to be enough, be fitting
lo Pr 1006: he, she, him, her
lóndó V 34: to get up
lɔ́rɔ́ N 3: speed
lɔ́sɔ N 2: rice
lú V 13: to plant, bury
lukundú N: spirit of witchcraft
lungúla V 12: to remove
lutí V 1: to stand up

-M-

má V 121: to hear
ma Pa 13: emphasis
mabɔ́kɔ N 31: hand
mafuta N 12: oil, fat
mạ́ị́ V: to grow
makáko N 5: monkey
makala N 3: fritter
makongó N 9: caterpillar
makɔrɔ́ N: calumny

makunzi N 4: chief
mamá N 67: mother
manda V 1: to learn, study
mánga N 1: tobacco
mángo N: mango
mápa N 1: bread
mará N 15: tribe, kind
másarágba N: rhinoceros
masía N 3: young girl before marriage
matánga N 4: celebration
mawa N 5: suffering
mbá N 10: fellow, comrade
mbadi N 1: divination
mbáge N 23: side
mbakɔ́rɔ N 4: old person
mbamba N: oyster
mbáná N 3: indifference, carelessness
mbángbá N: cheek
mbanu N 2: cross-bow
mbáráwárá N: large lizard
mbásámbárá Ap 3: seven
mbé (ngú) N: other side (of river)
mbengé N: wild pig
mbéní Aa 317: certain, other
mbɛ́tí N 78: paper, book
mbi Pr 1579: I, me
mbínda N: cloud
mbírímbírí Av 27: straight, right
mbito N 15: fear
mbo N 8: dog
mbɔ́kɔ V 3: to bruise
mbúlú N: powder
mbunzú N 46: white man
mbúrú N 1: oil palm
mɛ́ V 2: to prepare food
mɛ́ N 3: ear
mɛ́ (ngɔ) V 1: to conceive
mɛ N 2: breast
mɛ́nɛ́ N 5: blood
menɛ V 1: to swallow
mɛ́ngá N: tongue
mɛ́rɛngɛ́ N 183: child
míngi Ap 314: much
míngɔ V 5: to extinguish
miombe Ap 4: eight
mm I 4: agreement
monganga N 3: medicine man
mɔ Pr 1061: you (sing.)
mú V 370: to take
mʔm I: disagreement

-N-

na C 2602: and, with
ndá N 45: end
ndakóro N: kind of plant, used as washcloth
ndao N 2: blacksmith
ndápéréré N 23: morning
ndaráa N 3: wisdom
ndarangba N: hare
ndavekɛ N: syphilis
ndé Ap 27: different
ndeko N 1: friend
ndembú N 1: rubber
ndekɛ N 1: bird
ndiá N 1: law
ndó N 54: top, atop
ndo N 126: place
ndoé N 8: person with same name

ndóndó (li) N: brain
ndóngé N: red pepper
ndóo N: clay for making pots
ndɔ́kɔ́ N: flower
ndú V 1: to touch
ndurú Aa 11: short
ndúzú N 13: sky
nɛ V 2: to be heavy, crush completely
nɛka V: to crush completely
ngá Ap 119: also
ngaánga N: fetish
ngáfó N 4: hoe
ngágɔ̄ N: spinach
ngambe N 2: younger brother
ngángá N: bottle
nganga N 2: a certain medicine
ngangó N 49: strong, strength
ngaragé N 6: a certain secret society
ngása N: goat
ngásá N: wild yam
ngbá V 64: to remain
ngbáá N: slave
ngbáa N 2: buffalo
ngbagba N: jaw
ngbágo N: alcohol
ngbálo N 1: apoplexy
ngbanga N 16: judgment
ngbangatí C 102: because
rgbangbu N 2: hundred
ngbáti N 1: certain kind of medicine
ngbéré Aa 4: old
ngbéréná N 1: coiled brass bracelet
ngbii Av 49: for a while
ngbɔ́kɔ́ N: sugar cane
ngbundá N 1: hips
ngbúru V: to enmesh, embroil
ngeki (lé) N: eye brow
ngéré N 4: price, value
ngɛ V: to become thin
ngɛ́lɛ́ngɛ́lɛ́ Av: manner of shining or glittering
ngiá N 44: joy, amiability
ngindí N: rat trap
nginza N 85: money
-ngó M 141: nominalizer
ngói N 1: season
ngombe N 1: gun
ngonda N 23: bush
ngɔ́ngɔ́á N: ritual defilement
ngɔngɔa N 1: seed grain
ngonzo N 6: anger
ngóro N: maneless lion
ngɔ́ N 13: boat
ngɔ N 7: drum
ngɔ N 5: foetus
ngɔ́lɔ N: fish trap
ngɔlɔ 1: ?
ngɔ́rɔ V 2: to surround
ngú N 122: water, river
ngui N: kind of tuber
ngui N 1: kind of monkey
ngundé N: crocodile
ngunzá N 43: greens
ngusú N 1: chigger
ní Ap 900: the one
ni V: to lower (as clouds)
nínga V 2: to be long
nzá N: horn of animal

nzala N 10: hunger
Nzapá N 61: god
nzére (yí) Aa: different kinds of things
nzɛ́ V 1: to get weary
nzɛ N 31: moon, month
nzenɛ́ N: fingernail, claw
nzɛ́nzɛ́ N: small kind of caterpillar
nzɛnzɛ 1: ?
nzɛrɛ V 17: to please, to taste good
nzí N,V 9: theft, stealth, to steal
nzó N 3: corn
nzoní Aa 168: good

-O-

o I 17: surprise
o Pa 29: politeness
ole V 2: to dry
omaná Ap 1: six
omba N 1: aunt
óse Ap 59: two
osió Ap 18: four
otá Ap 36: three

-ɔ-

ɔ́kɛ Ap 5: how many
ɔ́kɔ Ap 212: one

-P-

pá V: to accuse on suspicion
pandé N: pattern, model
pápa N: sandal
papa N 2: spoon
papa V, N 5: to quarrel, a quarrel
párá N: egg
pási N 8: suffering
páta N 7: unit of five-francs
pé (kámba) V: to twist (rope)
pendere Aa 23: young, beautiful
péré N 4: grass
pɛkɔ́ N 111: back
pɛ́mbɛ́ N 8: tooth
pɛpɛ ~ apɛ Pa 612: not
pɛtɛ V: to pound, crush
píka V 64: to hit, beat
píndírí N 1: burning embers, coal
pitó N: foreskin
pópó N 14: middle
pópó N: ornamental scar on face
póró N 6: skin
pɔnɔ́ N 2: suffering
pɔtɔpɔ́tɔ N 2: mud, gruel
pupu N: wind
purú N 2: excrement

-R-

ri V 1: be thoroughly crushed

-S-

sá V: to pour
sái N: yeast for brewing
sakpá N 2: basket
sambá N: co-wife
samba N 9: beer
sambéla V 12: to pray, worship
sáná N 1: suffering
sandúku N: box
sánzó N 1: a boil
sárá N: itch
sára V 515: to do; make

sara N: forked stick
sé V: to be bitter
seko N: chimpanzee
séndá N: sole of foot
séngé Aa 74: for nothing, with nothing
sepála V 1: to praise
sése N 80: earth, land
sɛ́ V: to recline
sɛmbɛ́ N 6: dish
sí V 102: to arrive
sí V 5: to fill
sí C 370: so that, next
sindi N 4: sesame
sioní Aa 44: bad, evil
sisi N: thorn
só Ap 1216: this
so V: to save
sónzó N: wild dog
sɔ V 30: to hurt
sɔ́á N: needle
sɔa V 2: to flow
sɔ́kɔ N: rust
sɔ́sɔ́ V: to defecate
súku V 3: to swell up
sukúla V 17: to wash
súmá N 1: dream
sumári N 1: a certain secret society
sungba V: to burst
súru V 16: to split
susu N 21: fish

-T-

ta N 23: pot
taá Au 43: true
taba N: sheep
tágba N: kind of antelope: kob
tambéla V 17: to walk
tanga N 9: remainder
tangé N 1: bed
tará N 4: grandmother
tara V 5: to try
tɛ́ V 1: to meet
tɛ v 88: to eat
tɛ́mɛ́ N 4: stone
tɛ́nɛ́ N 256: word, speech, affair
tɛnɛ V 391: to talk
tɛnɛtí C 88: because
tɛ́rɛ́ N 91: body
tɛrɛ N 38: spider; mythical character
tí V 17: to fall
tí C 3055: of, to
ti N 6: arm
tíkɔ V: to cough
tíngbi V 2: to join
tiri V 17: to fight
títɛnɛ C 237: that is to say
tó V 11: to dip up
to V 45: to send
toka V,N 12: to send message, message
tomba V 16: to chase
tongana C 387: when
tongasó Av 229: thus
tóró V 1: ?
toto V 26: to cry
tɔ́ V 25: to cook
tɔ́rɔ́ N 1: spirit of dead ancestor
túku V 27: to pour, dump
tungu N: lead or tin (metal)
turúgu N: soldier
turúngu N: navel

-U-

uga 1: ?
ukú Ap 16: five
úlu V 1: to blow (as horn)
uru V 1: to jump, fly

-V-

vɛkɛ́ N 3: okra
vɛnɛ N 27: lie
vɛní N 1: owner
vɛní Ap 53: self
vɔ V 55: to buy
vɔkɔ́ Aa 22: black
vɔ́rɔ V: to beseech
vú V 1: to be surpassingly beautiful
vu V: to be black
vundú N 5: resentment
vurú Aa 4: white

-W-

wá N 22: fire, heat
wa N 17: inhabitant
wa V 15: to warn
wa Ap 19: interrogative
wala C 58: or else
wálē N 188: 'woman, female'
wara V 162: to find
wátáká N 3: lie
we V 258: to be finished
wę́ N 14: iron
woga N 12: small antelope
wógará N: daughter-in-law
wótoro N 1: bee
wɔ́kɔ V 4: to soften, weaken
wú see hú
wúnzi see húnzi
wúrúwúrú N 1: noisy disorder

-Y-

yá N 185: belly
yá V: to raise up
yáká N 70: garden field
yąma N 67: animal, meat
yángá N 68: mouth, language
yą́ǫ N: cat
yáyú N 2: sky
yekeyeke Av 1: slowly
yę Ap 72: interrogative
yę́kpá N: lightning
yenɛ́ N: anus
yengerɛ V,N 3: to sift, sieve
yí N 235: thing
yí V 2-5: to want, like, love
yíngɔ́ N 5: salt
yingɔ́ N 1: spirit of living person
yoró N 43: medicine
yɔ́ V 3: to bear load
yɔ́ (yí) V: to beg
yɔ V 9: to be long, be far
yǫ́ V 23: to drink
yɔngɔ́rɔ Ap 9: long
yɔ́rɔ V 8: to fry food
yɔ́rɔ V 4: to thrust, insert
yú V 9: to wear
yuru V 4: to leak, seep out

-Z-

zá V 4: to be keen, be bright
zaranga N: roan antelope

zaza N 1: switch made of twig
zé V 2: to promise
zɛ N: leopard
zembɛ N 4: knife
zí V 3: to untie
zí V 2: to dig
zía V 148: to put
zíngo V 4: to awaken
zo N 374: person
zonga V, N 2: curse
zɔ́ V 6: to burn
zúku V: to bow, kneel
zuru N 2: mil

-Č-

čáʔ I 3: sick 'em

Chapter 20

FRENCH LEXICON

-A-

affecté	'appoint'
ail	'garlic'
allé	'suddenly'
ambassadeur	'ambassador'
ananas	'pineapple'
apôtre	'apostle'
Assemblée Législative	'legislative assembly'
attaqué	'to attack'
attention	'attention, care'
au secours	'emergency'
aussi	'also'
auto	'automobile'
autocar	'bus'
avion	'airplane'

-B-

bac	'a ferry'
balayé	'to sweep'
ballon	'football, balloon'
bambou	'bamboo'
banc	'mixing board'
baptême	'baptism'
bar	'bar, tavern'
béni	'to bless'
bien	'well'
bière	'beer (imported)'
bilharzie	'liver fluke disease'
boîte	'a can, a box'
bon	'debt'; 'well!'
bordelle	'prostitute'
bulletin	'bulletin'
bureau	'office'

-C-

café	'coffee'
caisse	'crate, box'
calcul	'calculation'
camarade	'comrade'
camion	'truck'
campagne	'campaign'
carte d'identité	'identity card'
causé	'to chat'
ça va	'to recover'
cervelle	'brain'
chaise	'chair'
changé	'to change'
chapeau	'hat'
chapitre	'chapter'
charbon	'charcoal'
chauffé	'to heat'
chauffeur	'chauffeur'
chiffon	'rag'
chrétien	'christian'
citoyen	'citizen'
civilisé	'to be civilized'
client	'customer'
cochon	'pig'
collé	'to thicken'
commandé	'to command'
commandement	'authority'
commencé	'begin'

comment	interrogation of manner
commerçant	'merchant'
commis de bureau	'office clerk'
compagne	'wife'
concours	'competitive examination'
conférence	'conference'
confiance	'confidence, trust'
congé	'vacation'
conseil	'council, counsel'
contre	'against'
contrôleur	'inspector'
coton	'cotton'
crapule	'treacherous'
crédit	'credit'
croisement	'crossroads'
cuillère	'spoon'

-D-

d'abord	'first of all'
d'accord	'in agreement'
débrouillé	'to manage to do'
déjà	'already'
délégué	'representative'
démerdé	'to make out'
demi(e)	'half (hour)'
dépend	'to depend'
dépensé	'to spend'
depuis	'since'
député	'elected deputy'
descend	'go down'
désigné	'to appoint'
devant	'front'
devinette	'riddle'
diacre	'deacon'
dimanche	'Sunday'
diminué	'to diminish'
diplomate	'diplomat'
diplomatie	'diplomacy'
directeur	'director'
direction	'head office'
disque	'a record (music)'
docteur	'physician'
doucement	'slowly, softly'
droit	'a right'

-E-

école	'school'
économie	'economics'
écrasé	'to crush'
église	'church'
eh bien	'well then'
embrassé	'to embrace, to kiss'
encore	'still, yet, again'
et	'and, then'
et puis	'then'
évangile	'gospel'
évolué	'member of educated élite'
examen	'examination'

-F-

famille	'family'
farine	'flour'
fatigué	'to tire out'
fille	'girl'
filtre	'filter'
fonctionnaire	'civil servant'
foutu /fúti/	'to ruin'
franc	'franc'
français(e)	'French'
frigidaire	'refrigerator'

fúti see foutu

-G-

gendarme 'military policeman'
gérant 'manager of business'
glacé 'very cold (of drinks)'
gouvernement 'government, authority'
grandes endémies 'great endemic diseases'

-H-

heure 'hour, time'
histoire 'story'
hôpital 'hospital'
huile 'oil'
hygiène 'hygiene'

-I-

il faut 'it is necessary'
indigène 'native'
infirmier 'male nurse'
impôt 'tax'
inspecteur 'inspector'
instituteur 'school teacher'

-J-

jamais 'never'
jeunesse 'youth (organization)'
jusqu'à 'for a while'
juste 'properly, correctly'

-L-

lait 'milk'
lettre 'letter'
loi 'law'

-M-

maçon 'mason'
madame 'lady, Mrs.'
magasin 'store, storehouse'
magie 'magic'
mais 'but, and'
manière 'manner, skill, cunning'
manqué 'to miss, to fail, to lack'
malade 'illness'
marché 'market'
marché 'to progress'
mariage 'marriage, spouse'
mauser 'big rifle'
médecin 'physician'
mélangé 'to mix'
membre 'member (of church)'
même 'even, even if'
ménage 'housework'
ménagère 'home economics (school)'
menuisier 'cabinet-maker'
merci 'thanks'
merdé 'to annoy, to pester'
microbe 'microbe'
midi 'noon'
milieu 'middle'
militaire 'military'
ministre 'minister'
mission 'mission'
mobilisé 'mobilized'
moitié 'half-way'
moniteur 'instructor'
monsieur 'gentleman, Mr.'
monté 'to climb, go high'
mon vieux 'wow!'
musique 'music'

-N-

nouvelle	'news, new'

-O-

obligé	'to oblige'
occupé	'to be busy'
oignon	'onion'
ou bien	'or else'
oui	'yes'

-P-

parce que	'because'
par jour	'daily wage'
partagé	'to divide'
passé	'to pass, to iron (clothes)'
pasteur	'pastor'
pas tout-à-fait	'not altogether'
patron	'boss'
paye	'pay'
payé	'to pay'
péché	'sin'
pensé	'to think'
peut-être	'perhaps'
piqûre	'injection'
pistolet	'pistol'
place	'place'
poisonné	'to poison'
police	'police'
politique	'politics'
pomme de terre	'potato'
pompé	'to pump'
poste	'post office'
postier	'postal clerk'
poussé	'to push, to move over'
préfecture	'regional administrative headquarters'
préparé	'to prepare'
président	'president'
prié	'to pray'
projet	'project'
prophète	'prophet'
proposition	'proposal'
propre	'clean'

-Q-

quand même	'even if'
que	'that'
question	'question'
quinine	'pill, tablet'
quitté	'to leave'

-R-

radio	'radio'
réponse	'answer'
repos	'rest'
république	'republic'
ressort	'spring (of car)'
retard	'late'
rognon	'kidney (of animal)'
royaume	'kingdom'

-S-

sac /sáki/	'thousand francs'
salade	'lettuce'
saleté	'dirty'
sauvage	'uncivilized'
secrétaire	'secretary'
semaine	'week'
sentinelle	'watchman'
service	'employment, service'
servir	'to serve'

signé 'to sign'
soigné 'to care for, to treat'
sport 'sport'

-T-

table 'table'
terrain 'airfield'
thé 'tea'
timbre 'postage stamp'
tomate 'tomato'
touché 'to touch'
tourné 'to turn, to stir'
train 'train'
travail 'work, job'
travaux 'public works department'

-V-

vacances 'vacation'
vacciné 'to vaccinate'
verre 'glass'
verset 'verse'
vieux, vieille 'old'
ville de Bangui 'fire truck'
vin 'wine'
vite 'quickly'
voilà 'there!'
vote 'vote'
voté 'to vote'
vrai 'true'

PART SIX: INDICES

INDEX OF EXAMPLES

In this index, all examples that are cited in the grammar (total: 1860) are listed according to the text from which they were selected. Under the number of each text, each set of parentheses encloses the references to all the examples from that text in a particular numbered section of the grammar. Thus, (5.61.15-4,9) would read, "chapter 5, section 61.15, examples 4 and 9."

A8

(3.12-1,5,7,14,16)(3.30-6)(4.10-28,47,48)(4.21.10-4,7,16)(4.23.50-16)(4.26-8,16,48)(4.30-22)(5.31-10)(5.32.10-1,55,61)(5.32.21-26,29)(5.32.23-6)(5.32.26-6,12)(5.41-14)(5.42-9)(5.51-14)(5.61.15-10)(5.61.20-2)(5.61.30-4,6)(5.64.20-5,17,26)(5.81-2,4,9)(6.30-28)(6.40-22,32)(7.21-25)(8.12.30-18)(8.13-9,17,31)(9.23-4,5,15)(9.30-17,18,31,39)(10.12-6,10)(10.40-2)(11-8,10)(11.11-27,67,73,81)(11.12-11)(11.13-2,12)(11.14-11)(12.20-2)(12.33-3)(13.20-5)(13.30-10,15)(14.10-8)(15.21.11a-17,34,37)(15.21.11b-5,12)(15.21.12a-4,7)(15.22-13)(16.20-5)

A9

(3.12-12)(3.20-3)(4.10-27)(4.23.10-10)(4.41-5,9)(5.61.15-4)(6.30-13)(7.21-11)(8.11-7)(8.12.20-2)(8.12.30-12)(9.30-6)(11.13-23)(12.32-2)(12.33-1)(13.20-25)(15.21.12b-2)(15.22-1,8)(16.10-4)

A11

(3.12-4)(4.21.10-19)(4.26-26,35)(4.30-2.9)(5.61.16-10)(6.30-9)(7.21-10)(9.30-24,40,50,55)(11.12-14)(15.21.11a-7,8,14)(15.21.12a-5)

A13

(4.10-15,26)(4.21.10-3,13,23)(4.23.10-24)(5.32.10-44,48)(5.32.21-28)(5.32.25-18)(5.32.26-7)(5.61.13-13)(5.62-9)(5.64.10-2)(9.23-12,22)(9.30-13)(10.30-9)(11.12-20)(11.13-35)(12.33-2)(12.37-2)(14.10-11)(15.21.12a-27)

A15

(4.21.10-22)(4.23.20-1)(4.26-1,7,50,60)(4.30-19)(5.32.10-29)(5.32.21-39)(5.42-10,15,19)(5.61.13-10)(5.61.16-2)(5.62-4)(9.30-5,41)(10.11-2)(10.13-1)(11.11-20)(11.13-21)(11.14-6)(11.20-9,12)(12.31-5)(12.36-1,2)(13.10-7,15)(13.30-12)(14.10-12)(14.20-16)(15.22-10,19)

A21

(3-1)(3.30-5)(4.21.10-41)(4.21.20-2)(4.23.10-19)(4.41-2,12)(5.32.10-38)(5.32.21-1,36)(5.41-18)(5.61.16-16)(5.70-14)(8.12.30-17)(8.13-15)(11.11-3,60,80)(11.15-2)(14.10-3,7)(14.20-14)(15.21.11a-4,35)(15.21.12a-1,17)(15.21.20-2,7)(16.20-4)

A29

(4.21.10-9)(5.32.10-19)(6.40-14)(8.12.30-20)(9.30-35)(10.13-7)(11.11-25)
(11.12-13)(11.13-3)(15.21.11a-28)(15.21.12a-25)

A37

(3.12-15)(4.21.10-1)(5.32.10-56)(5.32.21-2)(5.61.16-1,20)(5.64.20-11)(5.70-25)
(12.35-5)(12.37-4)

A40

(3.12-10)(3.20-12)(4.10-7)(4.21.10-25)(4.21.20-6)(4.41-3)(5.32.22-1)
(5.32.25-20)(5.61.11-13)(6.30-23)(6.40-27)(7.21-6)(9.23-14)(9.30-3)
(11.16-1)(16.20-1)

A42

(4.10-24)(4.26-34)(5.31-1)(5.32.10-18,35,60)(5.61.11-2)(5.61.16-13)
(5.64.20-27)(5.81-6)(7.21-45)(10.11-14)(10.12-4)(11.11-42,68)(11.13-27)
(12.32-3)(12.35-7)(14.20-4)(15.21.12a-12,22)(15.21.12b-1)

A44

(2.10-1,2)(3.20-13)(4.21.10-8)(4.23.50-8,20)(4.41-1,15)(5.32.10-43,46)
(5.32.21-40)(5.32.25-19)(5.61.12-4)(5.61.16-19)(5.64.10-3,5)(5.81-3)(5.92-1)
(6.30-2)(8.11-3)(8.12.30-27)(8.13-14)(9.30-26,53)(11-1)(11.11-2,55)(11.12-39)
(12.32-1)(12.33-4)(12.34-5,7)(12.37-1)(14.10-14)(15.21.11a-33)(15.21.11b-7)
(15.21.12a-11,25)(15.22-15)(16.10-20)

A48

(4.21.10-21)(4.22-2)(4.26-23,31)(5.31-5,13)(5.32.10-41,50,52,58)(5.61.11-4)
(5.64.20-12,20)(7.21-16)(11.11-52)(11.13-5,17)(12.37-3)

A49

(2.10-14)(4.10-43,54)(4.23.10-21,23)(4.26-6,62)(5.31-11)(5.32.21-8,31)
(5.32.22-5,9)(5.32.25-15,22)(5.61.16-8)(5.62-1)(5.63-11)(5.64.10-8)(5.64.20-8)
(5.81-8)(5.82.10-15)(5.91-14)(11.11-58,72)(11.12-3,18,30)(11.13-26)(11.14-2)
(11.20-5)(12.31-7,12)(12.32-6)(12.36-3)(13.10-1)(15.21.11a-32)(15.21.12a-6,8,20)

A50

(4.10-9)(4.21.20-7)(4.26-63)(5.32.10-14)(5.32.21-20)(5.42-1,8,21)(5.52-2)
(5.64.30-3)(6.40-17)(11.11-46)(11.14-19)(11.20-8)(12.20-1)(15.21.12a-2)

A51

(4.26-11)(5.32.21-21)(5.32.24-4)(5.61.16-15)(15.21.11a-1)(15.21,12b-3)

C8

(3.20-11)(3.30-3)(4.30-18,40)(5.61.11-10)(5.64.20-1)(7.21-24)(8.12.30-5,14,25)
(8.12.40-1)(8.13-3)(9.23-9)(9.30-11,27)(10.12-2)(14.10-6)(15.21.11a-23)
(15.21.12a-29,36)(15.22-2,3)

C29

(4.25-13)(4.41-10)(5.32-3)(5.32.10-3)(5.32.21-11)(5.32.23-4)(5.32.25-2)(5.51-7)
(5.82.30-6)(7.13-1)(7.21-20)(8.13-4)(8.20-2)(11.11-17,62)(11.13-13)(12.31-3,11)
(14.20-8,11)(15.22-8)

C30

(4.10-34)(4.21.10-27,39)(4.26-49,54)(5.32.21-22,25)(5.41-7)(5.42-20)(5.61.13-2)
(5.61.20-1)(6.30-10,11,19,21)(8.11-1)(8.12.30-21)(8.13-11)(9.22-4)(9.30-54)
(11.12-8)(11.13-8,10,22,30,36)(11.14-17)(11.15-4,12)(12.31-2)(12.36-5)(13.20-28,
30)(14.20-3,7)(15.21.12a-9,23,30)(15.22-5,6)(16.10-1,6,13,15,19)

C31

(2.10-7)(4.10-50)(4.21.10-30)(4.23.10-13)(4.23.20-3,5)(4.23.50-11,14,15)
(4.24-3)(4.25-7)(4.30-20,21)(4.41-7)(4.42-1)(5.20-7,8,9)(5.31-3)(5.32.10-15,22)
(5.32.25-8)(5.41-3,22)(5.53-4)(5.62-8)(5.64.20-13)(6.30-27)(6.40-7)(7.21-17,
37,38)(8.11-4,8,9)(8.12.20-3,4)(8.12.30-1,2,4)(8.12.40-6)(8.13-16,18,29)
(9.23-7,13)(9.30-10,12,29)(10.13-5,8)(11.11-7,11,29,50,66)(11.13-29)(11.15-13)
(11.16-4)(13.20-2,9,11)(13.30-3)(14.20-2,6,9,10,12,13)(15.21.11a-13,22)
(15.21.11b-2,3,4)(15.21.12a-15,18,19)(15.21.12b-4)(15.21.20-4)
(16.10-4,7,8,9,10,11,16)

F4

(3.12-2,11)(4.10-1)(4.21.20-18,19)(4.23.20-6)(4.23.40-5)(4.23.50-10)
(4.26-19,32,36,44)(5.32.10-42)(5.32.21-34,38,41)(5.32.24-3)(5.41-6)(5.42-11)
(5.52-6)(5.53-5)(5.61.11-1,7)(5.62-2)(5.63-7)(5.82.30-8)(7.21-2)(8.12.30-6)
(9.23-11,19)(9.30-28,32,52)(10.11-9)(10.20-1)(11.11-1,18,31,83)(11.15-5)
(12.31-9)(12.35-3)(13.10-5)(14.10-5)(15.21.11a-11,25)(15.21.12a-31,32)
(15.21.20-3)(15.22-12)

F7

(3.12-3,8)(4.10-45)(4.21.10-20)(4.21.20-5)(4.23.50-3)(4.25-14)(4.26-2,4,5,20,
22,70)(4.30-5,10,30)(4.41-14)(5.32.10-51,53,54)(5.32.21-27)(5.32.23-2)
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47,57)(10.11-5,11)(10.13-9)(10.20-5)(11.11-49,78)(11.12-7)(12.31-8)(12.34-11)
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